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The Shape of Things

IT LOOKS MORE AND MORE AS IF THE ONE thing the British fear in the Middle East is peace between Israel and the Arab states. Just as the Egyptian and Israeli representatives were preparing to meet at Rhodes for armistice negotiations under United Nations auspices, the British announced new troop landings at Aqaba and two Royal Navy frigates left Malta for Cyprus. At the same time, shore leaves for British sailors on Malta were canceled, and a brigade of marine commandos was alerted for transfer to "an undisclosed British base in the Middle East." Ostensibly, all this martial activity is an answer to the shooting down of five R. A. F. planes by the Israelis, an action which the British charge occurred over Egyptian territory and was therefore wholly without warrant. The facts about the incident are still in dispute as we go to press, the Israeli government insisting that the planes were attacked over the Negev. But whatever the truth may be, the question arises as to what British warplanes were doing on either side of the Egyptian-Israeli frontier. Britain's frequent references to its "obligations" under the 1936 treaty with Egypt are hardly impressive in view of the fact that the Egyptian government long ago denounced the treaty and has requested no assistance from the British in its present struggle with Israel. If Mr. Bevin were looking for peace instead of continued trouble in Palestine, he would encourage talks between the antagonists instead of patrolling the border with formations of planes, sending troops to Transjordan, and then using the air attack as an excuse for a general show of force on land and sea in the eastern Mediterranean. We can only assume that the British, having failed either to force through the Bernadotte plan at Paris or to prevent direct negotiations, are now prepared to dynamite the first valid hope of a settlement in order to assert their authority.

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THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO CONGRESS and the reorganization of that body to conform, more or less, to the will of the voters are dealt with in greater detail elsewhere in this issue. Even those of us who crossed our fingers after the first glow of the Truman victory had worn off must feel elation over the uncompromising speech on the State of the Union, the defla-

tion of the House Rules Committee, the promise of an end to filibustering in the Senate, and in general the clearing of the way for Mr. Truman's "Fair Deal." There is no longer reason to doubt that the unsophisticated politician from Missouri is determined to push on with an extension of Roosevelt's domestic policies, that he regards himself under obligation to the voters to do so, and that "economic royalists" will find him every bit as tough a customer as his more urbane predecessor. Some critics of his foreign policy flatly discount his domestic-reform program on the ground that the "cold war" will make it financially impossible. Henry Wallace goes so far as to call his entire program "futile." As Thomas Sancton points out in his analysis of the message, the program may in fact be undone by an imminent threat of war, but it is also true that a false threat of war can be deliberately suspended over Mr. Truman's head in order to wreck that program and the economy it is designed to preserve. In any event, it appears that the President is not unmindful of the dangers. He has recently given more than one indication that he believes in the possibility of an understanding with Russia and is pleased to encourage it.

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IT MAY BE TAKEN FOR GRANTED THAT THE resignations of Secretary of State Marshall and Under Secretary Lovett have nothing to do with the President's anxiety to try another meeting of minds with the Russians. Mr. Marshall's health has been too poor to bear the strains of one of the world's most arduous jobs, and the real difference between the President and Lovett has concerned Palestine rather than the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, their going may well make a rapprochement more feasible. As Chief of Staff during the war and as the originator of the Marshall Plan, the retiring Secretary of State leaves the country and the entire Western world very much in his debt. Yet it is fair to say that as a lifelong soldier he inevitably looked at foreign policy essentially in terms of military strategy. In designating Dean Acheson to succeed General Marshall, Mr. Truman has made one of the best appointments of his Presidential career. Once private secretary to Justice Brandeis, Acheson during his years in the department was far closer to men like Ben Cohen and Archibald MacLeish than he was to the career clique. He was against placing any reliance on Emperor Hirohito when men like Grew thought that was a good idea, and

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• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS
The Shape of Things 57
The Economic Report 59
Politics and People: End of an Era
by Robert Bendiner 60

ARTICLES
Second Chance for the New Deal?
by Thomas Sancton 61
Somoza Versus the Americas
by Juan Andrés Petersen 63
Church, State, and Schools
by G. Bromley Oxnam 67
Shanghai Awaits the Communists
by Andrew Roth 70
The Clouds Lift over India *by Shiva Rao* 72
The Future of the Cold War
by J. Alvarez del Vayo 74

BOOKS AND THE ARTS
Must Psychology Aid Reaction?
by Helen Merrell Lynd 75
Explaining Dr. Einstein
by Joseph Wood Krutch 76
The Sitwell Memoir *by Ernest Jones* 78
Jonathan Edwards's Images
by Reinhold Niebuhr 79
The Graphic Arts *by S. L. F., Jr.* 79
Verse Chronicle *by Rolfe Humphries* 80
Books in Brief 80
Drama *by Joseph Wood Krutch* 81
Films *by Anthony Bower* 81
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 82

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 83

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 296
by Frank W. Lewis 84

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he was consistently anti-Franco. With Cohen, he laid the groundwork for the destroyers-for-bases deal, and his relations with Congress were good enough to play a large part in passage of the Bretton Woods legislation, ratification of the United Nations Charter, and adoption of the Marshall Plan. At the same time, his belief in dealing firmly with the Russians should withstand the efforts of Senator Wherry to withhold confirmation on the ground that Acheson once thought Soviet-American friendship more readily attainable than has proved to be the case.

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IN ITS HARDEST JOLT TO BIG BUSINESS, THE President's Message asked Congress: "To authorize an immediate study of the adequacy of production facilities for materials in critically short supply; and, if found necessary, to authorize government loans for expansion of production facilities . . . and furthermore to authorize the construction of such facilities directly if action by private industry fails to meet our needs." Steel-industry executives have optimistically expressed the hope that this "Socialist" proposal will be buried on Capitol Hill. They deny stoutly that there is any real steel shortage and insist that their present $2 billion expansion program will meet all contingencies. A great many consumers of steel think otherwise. If supply is catching up with demand, it is hard to understand why automobile factories should be operating far below capacity and citizens paying premiums for new cars. Moreover, the lag in construction of new railroad equipment, of oil and gas pipe-lines, and of new power facilities—a crying need in many parts of the country—seems to be largely due to steel shortages. The fact is that in steel there is a very definite divorce between the public interest and the profit motive. The public interest calls for an abundant and cheap supply; the private steel corporation flourishes by maintaining a productive capacity that is somewhat below total demand. In view of the tremendous investment represented by a modern, integrated steel plant, competition is not the corrective it theoretically should be. None of the small concerns in the industry can afford to buck the giants that rule it. Yet it is clear that not enough steel is being produced to meet the needs of a full-employment economy. Depression would, of course, provide a remedy. But we prefer the President's proposal.

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AMERICAN FRIENDS OF CHIANG KAI-SHEK have never been able to explain why his armies, which were far more numerous and better equipped than those of the Communists when the civil war was renewed, have been consistently defeated. They have all along clamored for more aid to Nanking on the assumption

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that a wall of dollars could hold back the red tide. It was to gain support for this point of view that William C. Bullitt was sent to China last year by the Joint Congressional Committee on Foreign Economic Policy. In accordance with all expectations, he has now returned to advocate pouring another $800,000,000 into the Chinese sink-hole. He admits that even assistance on this scale will do no more than delay Communist victory unless military and economic supplies are supplemented by American direction and control. In particular, he wants a top-flight American general with an adequate staff to act as commander-in-chief of the nationalist forces. That seems to us a particularly fatuous proposal and one that, were it put into effect, would assuredly end whatever prestige the United States still retains in China. Even if the Pentagon were shifted en bloc to Nanking, the rot in nationalist China, which is taking the form of a *sauve qui peut* movement by many of Chiang's chief aides, could not be stopped. The unfortunate American officer picked for this job could do little unless he were given dictatorial powers and so put in a position to liquidate many of the higher nationalist officers, whom even Mr. Bullitt finds "both incompetent and dishonest—particularly the generals." That might be a popular move but hardly sufficient to overcome the passionate desire for peace which, according to most reporters on the spot, now pervades China.

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THE BULLITT REPORT EXEMPLIFIES THE unrealism in high places that is, perhaps, our greatest liability in the cold war. Too many of our leaders insist on thinking about the Communist menace purely in terms of a huge conspiracy. It may be true, as Paul Hoffman declared on January 6, that there is nothing idealistic about the "gang in the Politburo," that the Russian bosses are simply and solely out for power. But we cannot end our analysis at that point; we must ask why, nevertheless, Soviet policies have won such wide support. The real danger of communism is that, regardless of the insincerity of its promoters, it seems to offer to hundreds of millions a new hope of escape from intolerable conditions. And the only way to combat it is to prove that Western democracy has a better answer. Where there are decent standards of living and real political and civil liberty, the appeal of communism has proved slight. It has made headway in those countries that have been bypassed, neglected, or exploited by Western civilization. We shall not stem its advance by flirting with reactionaries, underwriting decayed feudalisms, or bolstering outworn empires. All the billions we have put at the disposal of Chiang Kai-shek have served merely to speed the advance of communism in Asia. By contrast, the most important move in the opposite direction has been the friendly and peaceful liquidation of the British Empire in India. It is only political action of that kind, reinforced by a genuine effort to raise economic standards in backward areas, that will bring Western victory in the cold war.

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THE RECENT VERDICT OF A FEDERAL JURY in favor of Lester Cole, one of ten Hollywood film writers discharged and blacklisted for their refusal to answer certain questions before the Thomas committee, promises to bring about an early settlement of several similar cases now pending. During the Cole trial, Judge Leon Yankwich caustically observed that the decision to discharge the ten writers was in large part the craven handiwork of Eric Johnston. In fact, Louis B. Mayer admitted that Cole was an excellent screen writer and that when MGM acquiesced in the Johnston-inspired strategy of discharging the writers to appease the committee, it was not thinking about Cole but about the Thomas committee and the possibility of a federal censorship of the industry. Under the cross-examination of Robert W. Kenny, Johnston conceded that he had never read the transcript of Cole's testimony before the Thomas committee, though he said it was because of this testimony that he had recommended the discharge of Cole and the others. Since the election, the industry has belatedly realized that it made a serious mistake when it accepted Johnston's ignoble advice. The Society of Independent Motion Picture Producers has announced that it "repudiates" the anti-Communist hiring policy of the major studios. That the major producers would now like to repudiate this policy themselves is indicated by the statements of Samuel Goldwyn and others. The current problem is one of ways and means. The quickest and surest way out of the present impasse would be for the producers to ease Mr. Johnston out of his position.

The Economic Report

THIS year marks a turning point in the economic situation. The reconversion of industry has ended, and many of the post-war investment programs are drawing to their close. Surpluses are beginning to appear in agricultural and other consumers' products, and the index of consumer prices has begun gently to fall. At the same time, the government must enlarge its expenditures for armament and pressing domestic obligations. The problem of national economic management is to curb those tendencies which might threaten to renew the inflationary cycle and at the same time to moderate the distortions within the economy which may cause unemployment and deflation. This is a delicate task, especially when it has to be combined with the achievement of national objectives which are imperative regardless of their effect on short-run economic conditions.

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The President's Economic Report, based on the survey of his Council of Economic Advisers, emphasizes first of all the general measures which are required to hold any further inflation in check. Enlarged government spending will not exert an upward pressure on prices if the public pays into the Treasury more than the government spends. In order to yield a surplus, an increase of taxes is recommended. Appropriately, this increase is to be levied mainly on profits, which are now at their highest point in history. If a recession should begin, profits would be the first to feel its effect, the yield of taxes on them would drop, and a federal deficit would appear, thus tending to counteract the deflation. The other broad measure against inflation is to maintain a strict control of the expansion of bank credit. For this purpose, the President called for a continuation of the power of the Federal Reserve Board to require the banks to hold a larger percentage of reserves, against outstanding deposits and currency. The President's advisers do not favor an abandonment of support for government bond prices by Federal Reserve purchases, even though this does tend to enlarge bank reserves.

As the President indicated, however, general measures are not enough. More selective controls are needed at the points where purchasing power is pressing hardest against supply. In these cases, the government must have the power to keep down prices and wages and to make allocations of materials. Rent control must be continued, and exports must be checked wherever necessary. Simultaneously, the government can bolster up those parts of the economy where purchasing power is beginning to fail and needs are inadequately met. To do this will check the creeping advance guards of deflation which are seen here and there. Higher minimum wages and broader social insurance can sustain the purchasing power of consumers in the lower brackets. A large program of low-cost housing will help to supply a necessity and at the same time can prevent a building slump, which may develop from saturation of the market for high-price dwellings. Federal aid to education will not only carry out an important national policy but help the budgets of underpaid teachers.

Full employment and high income throw into relief the lack of balance in our industrial output. Steel and other necessities remain scarce. It is important to increase the capacity of such industries, not only to curb inflation, but to prepare for the future. For this reason, the President wants power to expand steel mills, either by lending money to private business or by government enterprise if that should prove to be necessary. Pushing river developments, with their hydroelectric projects, is important for the same reason, as well as to provide conservation of natural resources.

Physical production in the United States increased between 3 and 4 per cent last year and will probably increase by the same amount in 1949. As production rises, the goods must be bought if full employment is to be maintained. Consumers' purchasing power did not grow in 1948 and their buying of non-durable goods has actually begun to fall. What kept the economy going at high speed was the unprecedented level of business investment. The government's purchases were large, but the money it spent came directly from business and consumers, leaving the budget in balance. Now, the government must spend still more. It is therefore appropriate that it should tap soaring business profits for the sum, and should use part of this money in such a way as to supply the needs of consumers at the lower end of the scale. If recession in private business should come in spite of these measures, government spending would help to maintain a balance, in view of the quick reversal which could take place in taxation and credit policy.

POLITICS and PEOPLE

BY ROBERT BENDINER

End of an Era

Washington

IMPROBABLE as it seemed only six months ago, the time may soon be here when "Southern Democrat" will mean quite simply a Democrat from the South, not a right-wing Republican hiding behind a magnolia blossom and a portrait of Robert E. Lee. The Rankins, the Coxes, and the Eastlands are still on display on Capitol Hill—indeed, owing to what is sometimes called the "senility system," they head a shockingly large majority of Congressional committees—but they are a fading species. Like the bison and the pink egret, they are heading for extinction unless the government takes steps to preserve them artificially. And the Truman Administration showed clearly last week that it is totally uninterested in this particular aspect of conservation.

After the fashion of their kind, political historians will one day enumerate four steps that broke the Southern spell over the Democratic Party. First, in 1936, came the abolition of the two-thirds rule, which had given the Southerners an absolute veto in the party's choice of Presidential candidates. Then came the shattering blow of July, 1948, when the obnoxious civil-rights program was converted from a harmless aberration of President Truman to the status of party policy, incorporated in the campaign platform. This forced the diehards to an unfortunate test of power, and on November 2 came Step Number Three, the election of a Democratic President not only without the Solid South but against a Dixie competitor.

The historic event of last week, fourth step in the

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process, was a direct consequence of the November affair. It had been widely feared by nervous liberals that Mr. Truman had cooled off between Election Day and the convening of the Eighty-first Congress, and that the Dixiecrats would be taken back into the fold pretty much on their own terms. What happened instead was the worst Confederate disaster since Appomattox. A month or so ago, it was suggested in this column that the first week of the new Congress would reveal whether the President intended to launch a Second New Deal or merely to pay off a few political pledges. His intentions were to be gauged from the make-up of committees, from the seriousness with which his allies in the Senate strove to curb the filibuster and those in the House the power of the Rules Committee.

On two of these three counts, the Administration and its leaders on the Hill have already done themselves proud. To the all-important Ways and Means Committee, whose Democratic members decide on all other committee assignments for members of their party, the leadership has added four stalwarts, assuring the Administration a majority over any possible coalition. This will be especially important in determining the future of the Un-American Affairs Committee, for which drastic procedural curbs are also planned. The likelihood is that John Rankin will be dropped. Several plans, with Administration blessing, are afoot for ending the filibuster threat in the Senate, the mildest of which would allow two-thirds of that body to close debate not only on bills, as at present, but also on motions to take up legislation.

But, above all, the dictatorship of the House Rules Committee has been smashed, an achievement comparable to the parliamentary revolution of 1910, when the center of power was shifted from "Czar" Cannon to "King Caucus," only to be absorbed in time by the Rules Committee through its power to bottle up any bill its majority didn't favor. The change put through last week makes it possible for the chairman of any legislative committee on certain stipulated days to ask for a simple majority vote to release a buried measure. Such a request must be given top priority by the Speaker, with no dilatory motions allowed to prevail. It was the flat refusal of the Republican Rules Committee last year that kept the lower chamber from voting on a housing bill, even though it was sponsored by Republican leader Robert A. Taft and had a certain majority. A Democratic Rules Committee stacked with Southerners by virtue of seniority would just as surely cripple Mr. Truman's "Fair Deal" were it left as sole arbiter of what the House might or might not discuss.

The Rules Committee change has more far-reaching importance than any bill or group of bills that may be affected in the current session. It is one of those events that mark the end of an era. I do not expect all signs of life in the Southern group to flicker out forthwith. In fact, the chances are great that it will be able to block a Fair Employment Practices Act. But its star has set for all that, and for one reason. What Roosevelt tried to do on a piecemeal and personal basis, through the doubtful medium of the purge, Truman has attempted by challenging the whole rotten structure of Southern bigotry. Having first released his party from dependence on the Dixiecrats, he has divided the Southerners themselves. They could not have been defeated if Truman had not enjoyed the whole-hearted support of Speaker Sam Rayburn, of Texas, and when John Rankin insisted shrilly on his "right to be heard," many of his Southern colleagues abandoned him on the floor of the House. His typical effort to link the proposed change with the Kremlin had been hooted down in the historic New Year's Day caucus, and he had had the novel experience of being bluntly told by the majority leader that "Mississippi did not win this election." Cox of Georgia had been similarly told off and was left to inquire feebly what would happen if he violated the decision of the caucus.

The coalition that had plagued Roosevelt for most of his years in office was too weak to stand up to a determined assault on the very citadel of its power. After a defeat of this magnitude, it should be only a question of time before the Rankins are retired in favor of Representatives who have a party behind them, politics being a hard-boiled and realistic game—even in the magnolia country.

Second Chance for the New Deal?

BY THOMAS SANCTON

Washington, January 9

GREAT events seemed to be happening here in Washington during the dramatic first week of the Eighty-first Congress. One felt that the tide of post-war reaction had been finally reversed in Congress—as well as in the archaic Electoral College, which also was in session this week—by the historic election of November 2. Whether the resurrected New Deal envisaged in President Truman's magnificent State of the Union message is to have more than a spiritual second life, is actually to exist again in law, will not be known until the votes are counted in Congress, measure after measure. But the President's loyal and forceful restatement of the entire Roosevelt program, reassembling and codifying the abandoned social legislation of the bombed-out New Deal decade, at least acknowledged the imperishable vitality of these concepts in our national life and politics.

Going beyond such precedents, Mr. Truman broke

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new ground in the breadth of his recommendations, though in concept the program could be traced back, item by item, to messages sent to Congress by his predecessor. One paragraph after another swept away the work of Capitol Hill lobbyists who had run wild in the days of the Eightieth Congress and who had thought till November 2 that they would be moving in for the kill this week.

In recommending federal loans for construction of new steel plants, and federal operation if the industry failed to cooperate in increasing capacity, President Truman moved past the New Deal frontier in an important sector. The maintenance of scarcity-market trade conditions by the steel operators constitutes a major threat to a free-moving economy in peace time and to an adequate rate of expansion in case of war. The industry's refusal to expand during the opening stages of the last war, its incorrigible tendency to estimate new-plant requirements in terms of post-war demand and profit margins rather than in terms of desperate war-time shortages, was the greatest industrial blunder of the period. Now the industry is at it again. Its production of 88,000,000 tons in 1948 was an all-time high, except for 1944, and it uses that fact to justify its reluctance to build new plants. From the national point of view the measure of adequacy is not comparison with past annual production figures but with actual needs; and the shortage of steel is the chief cause of inflated manufacturing and building costs. The industry claims to have expanded its annual capacity to 96,000,000 tons. Government economists demand a further 10,000,000 ton increase in capacity. Truman's threat to put the government in the peace-time steel business shows a significant advance in his view of the government's obligations and prerogatives deriving from the election mandate. On this front Mr. Truman reaches the borderland of state socialism. But his decision is dictated primarily by military considerations rather than by the altruistic ideal of cheaper production and increased consumption for a people at peace—and this thread of disillusioning purpose seems to me to wind through many of the President's most attractive utterances. Even so, something has been accomplished when a President raises the threat of federal financing of independents of the Henry Kaiser type as a means of breaking steel's paralyzing hold on the national economy.

IN recommending government construction of a million low-cost housing units in the next seven years, Mr. Truman doubled the objectives of the Wagner-Ellender-Taft act, though his figure is far below the goal set by all housing experts. To the extent that a single speech can do so, the message also imposed a four-billion-dollar tax on corporations and higher incomes and broke up a fifteen-billion-dollar tidelands-oil grab. (But in its brief foreign-policy references it also justified inferentially the continued appeasement of reaction in the Mediterranean areas, where American financial interests have a vast investment in the Arabian oil monopoly.) The recommendations on the Taft-Hartley act were brief but clear: repeal it and substitute the Wagner act with restrictions on jurisdictional strikes and secondary boycotts. In political terms, it was payment in full for labor's help; in terms of national welfare it marked a return to New Deal labor frontiers, and at the same time eliminated two soft spots in the Wagner act which have made it possible for some labor racketeers to do great damage to the labor movement.

The establishment of the 75 cent minimum wage recommended by the President—if actually implemented in the coolie-wage areas, like Southern agriculture—would probably contribute as much to the solution of health, education, and even civil-rights problems as would the programs specifically designed to that end.

Though the speech made no direct use of such terms as "anti-lynch," "anti-poll-tax," or "fair employment," the President called the attention of Congress to his former statements about these matters and said with emphasis, "I stand squarely behind those proposals." I had the impression that the brevity of his references to this paramount political issue might be something of a hedge. P. L. Prattis, editor of the Pittsburgh *Courier* and an important figure in the civil-rights fight, disagreed with me. "The President went down the line," he said. We interviewed Representative Dawson, Democratic Negro Congressman from Chicago, and found him convinced on the basis of intra-party activities that "this is the year" for the civil-rights program. "Truman's lieutenants intend to pass and will succeed in passing major legislation in this field," he said.

An Associated Press writer, James Marlow, has done an interesting piece of research on the President's message. He appends to the various Truman recommendations the dates of messages or reports in which the basic idea first appeared, as follows: pre-paid medical insurance—President Hoover's medical committee recommended this in 1932; a government department covering health, education, and social security—Roosevelt, 1937; St. Lawrence seaway—Roosevelt, 1934; Department of Labor reorganization and expansion—Roosevelt, special message, 1938; federal aid to education—Roosevelt platform, 1934; price support for farmers—Roosevelt, 1933, on a Hoover precedent; rural electrification and soil conservation—Roosevelt, 1935; expand TVA principle—Roosevelt asked Congress to set up seven valley authorities. Marlow dates the original New Deal from 1933 to 1938. Mark Sullivan, indefatigable Washington historian, marks its demise with the defeat of the court-packing plan in mid-1937; at that time, despite the fact that Roosevelt had won the most decisive mandate

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in history only a year earlier, a reaction began in Congress which issued in a decade of trading, compromise, and obstruction in the fields of social legislation.

MR. TRUMAN is a remarkable figure in Presidential history. At first remarkable only for his mediocrity and the accidental nature of his selection, he has come to symbolize the surprising qualities of strength and dedication that often lie dormant in people until called into swift, maximum development by the demands of high responsibility. Unfortunately, the power of an individual intellect in late maturity is, science tells us, a more constant quantity. And the President had difficulty sifting good advice from bad in his first term.

As I listened to the President read his speech, his tongue catching on sticky phrases, his left-handed, "elocutionist" gestures so out of place, it occurred to me that later generations will find this speaking style hard to believe when they hear it on records. When he came to the last page and departed from his text to improvise about his need for Providential guidance, his tone changed miraculously. What he said now was direct, moving, natural. Frank McNaughton, author of the book "This Man Truman," gives a good explanation of the mystery: the President's thick glasses focus on a small area, and in reading he simply cannot take in enough words at a time to make his delivery flow.

The President specifically deferred the consideration of foreign policy for a separate statement. The brief references to international affairs seemed to me saturated with the intellectual and moral dualism characteristic of his first Administration and of this or any other militaristic era. The truth is, of course, that the New Deal will be sunk without a trace if the Pentagon cabal gets control in an age of atomic war. It is in the field of his relations with the military and in foreign policy that President Truman has yet to prove the scope and authenticity of his liberal concepts. In a day when millions in Europe and Asia are poised in doubt and growing cynicism between the systems of the East and West, he has to prove that his Administration has enough liberal democracy to export some of it, as well as food and dollars; that it has other suitable emissaries and advocates than generals and bankers; and that it can find other natural allies in Europe than decadent monarchies, erstwhile Nazi industrialists, and the world hierarchy of the Roman Catholic church. What the President accomplishes in foreign relations will in the long run far outweigh domestic legislation in establishing the conditions of existence for this nation.

Somoza Versus the Americas

BY JUAN ANDRES PETERSEN

ENCOURAGED no doubt by recent military coups in Latin American countries, the genial and porcine Nicaraguan dictator and Minister of War, General Anastasio (Tacho) Somoza, staged his own adventure early in December. But there was a difference. Whereas the other military gentlemen had merely wanted to throw out legally elected governments and take over in their own countries, Tacho tried to instal his friends in neighboring Costa Rica. And whereas the other military gentlemen succeeded, Tacho failed, and kicked up a continent-wide row into the bargain.

Few neighbors are less alike than Nicaragua and Costa Rica. Nicaragua is the largest Central American country in area. Costa Rica is next to the smallest. Nicaragua has 1,125,000 people, Costa Rica only 725,000. Nicaragua's Guardia Nacional, trained and equipped by the United States Marine Corps, is the best Central American army, and it all belongs to Tacho, who was also trained and put in charge by the Marines. Costa Rica, on the other hand, has always taken pride in having more school teachers than soldiers.

Costa Rica's literacy rate is the highest in Latin America, Nicaragua's is near the bottom. Nicaragua's choicest lands and businesses are owned by Tacho Somoza, while most of Costa Rica's farmland is owned in small patches by independent farmers.

Tacho's adventure really began last March, right after the Costa Rican presidential elections, in which ex-President Dr. Rafael Calderón Guardia ran against Otilio Ulate, publisher of the newspaper *Diario de Costa Rica*. Calderón Guardia, who once had represented most of the liberal and progressive elements of Costa Rica, was now supported by a few labor unions which had benefited from his labor legislation, by the Communists, and by the prosperous group which had unmercifully plundered the country during his war-time regime and that of his hand-picked successor, Dr. Teodoro Picado. Ulate represented everybody who wanted no more of the Calderón Guardia clique.

The total vote was 82,000, the highest in Costa Rican history. Ulate got 72,000, and Calderón Guardia got the

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leavings. The three-man Electoral Tribunal counted the votes, and then started checking them a second time, according to custom. They were two-thirds of the way through the recount when the time specified for vote-counting ran out. Two of the Tribunal said that Ulate's victory was obvious. The third man would not commit himself. Congress nullified the elections.

THE country rose in arms. While Farmer José Figueres fought his way north at the head of a nondescript group of civilians, Tacho Somoza sent 500 troops of the Guardia Nacional south by plane to help Calderón Guardia. The President of Guatemala, Juan José Arévalo, sent arms and supplies by air to Figueres.

Maurice Bernbaum, United States chargé d'affaires in Managua, was instructed to protest to Somoza. Blandly Tacho said he had never heard of such a thing, insisted that democratic Nicaragua would never violate a neighbor's sovereignty. After the interview, the United States military attaché told Bernbaum: "While you were talking to Somoza, a whole new contingent of Nicaraguan troops was taking off by air for the Costa Rican frontier."

The fighting went on. Farmer Figueres's ragtag and bobtail battalions were getting battle wise, and the Calderón Guardia forces were faring badly. Tacho's Nicaraguans had little stomach for conquest; so he sent more.

Figueres's forces won, and Figueres declared himself Provisional President. Ulate was named President-elect. Calderón Guardia and his henchmen fled to Nicaragua.

The now-famous Caribbean Legion was formed during this brief civil war. Perhaps a score of exiles from the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, Honduras, and a few other countries made up its core. Most of these men were seasoned campaigners, and most of them knew how to deploy troops, operate automatic weapons, use mortars, and the like. Under them, eager but untrained *ticos* (local slang for Costa Ricans) accounted for more Nicaraguans at less cost to themselves than otherwise would have been possible.

As the civil war progressed, revolutionaries from all over flooded into Costa Rica and joined the legion. Some of them believed first of all in the importance of fighting dictators. Others were simply restless souls looking for excitement. Still others were mercenary adventurers. The legion set up a training camp. It obtained abundant foreign money in mysterious ways; it got arms from a carefully anonymous source; and it boldly said that its object was to overthrow such governments as those of Somoza, Carías Andino of Honduras, and Trujillo of the Dominican Republic. Guns on their hips even when off duty, its members swaggered in San José streets like commandos just back from Dieppe, until the peaceful *ticos* got tired of their warlike posturing. The government then disarmed the legion, pointing out that the Costa Rican army had not been permitted to carry arms since shortly after the end of the revolution.

The open threats against Somoza, Trujillo, *et al.* continued until Figueres suggested some other country might be a better base. The legion then moved to Guatemala, which is big enough and rich enough and has a good enough air force so that President Arévalo doesn't have to care whether Somoza likes it or not.

Calderón Guardia and his defeated cohorts still sulked in Managua. Somoza smarted under the trouncing his vaunted Guardia Nacional had taken at the hands of the Costa Rican amateurs. Though not active, part of the legion still remained in San José, and Tacho considered this a further affront. And he sorely missed the lucrative duty-free trans-border cattle business he and Calderón Guardia had carried on.

In Tacho's book all this was ample reason to help overthrow the Figueres government. If the attempt failed, he would lose a few score guardsmen and would be the object of severe international frowns. Taking the advice of a United States correspondent who told him earnestly, "As long as you don't let them pin the tag of 'aggressor' on you, you can get away with anything," he would deny everything, whatever the proof, and there would be no penalties. On the other hand, he might pull it off.

The odds improved on December 1 when Costa Rica announced that its army would be disbanded. Figueres said that Costa Rica had no military ambitions, and the money could be better used for schools and public health. In Managua Calderón Guardia and Tacho had another long conference. Things were shaping up.

ON DECEMBER 3 Costa Rica ratified the Rio pact of 1947, one of whose most important provisions was to the effect that an attack, armed or otherwise, on any Western Hemisphere country would be considered an attack on them all and would be dealt with accordingly, even if it meant armed collective intervention. Costa Rica's signature brought the number of countries that had ratified to fourteen, the minimum necessary to put the treaty into force. But this did not worry Tacho. One can always get around treaties.

Just before dawn on December 10 the roar of truck motors and the rattle of gunfire sounded in the streets of La Cruz, a Costa Rican border village. The half-dressed telegraph operator flashed to San José a message that armed civilians and troops "in dazzling blue uniforms" were marching across the border. Some hours later they were identified as troops of the Guardia Nacional, whose standard uniform is olive drab. Tacho had dressed them up specially for the occasion.

Figueres broadcast to the nation an appeal for volunteers. The tiny, recently disbanded army reported almost en masse. More than 30,000 angry *ticos* gathered before the government palace, shouting for arms. The govern-

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ment did not own 30,000 guns, but all it had were distributed, and the "troops" set out for the border. They stopped the invaders in La Cruz and Santa Rosa. Tacho's men dug in and waited for the promised reinforcements.

On Saturday morning, December 11, the Costa Rican ambassador at Washington, Mario Esquivel, complained formally to the Organization of American States, invoking the Rio pact, which had become valid eight days before. Enrique Corominas, the beefy Argentine chairman of the organization's Governing Council, broke into ambassadorial week-ends to call a special meeting. On Sunday afternoon at three o'clock the ambassadors and their aides vanished through the white marble façade of the Pan-American Union.

Esquivel presented the charges made by his government, gave his proof, and asked that the Rio pact be invoked by the council. Never had the virginal walls of the Pan-American Union echoed such words. In the absence of Nicaraguan Ambassador Guillermo Sevilla Sacasa, Alfredo Sacasa, the young embassy secretary, answered. He had no information, he said at some length, but the charges were absolutely false. Anyhow, invocation of the Rio pact, with its provisions for sanctions, including armed collective intervention, was the last thing the Nicaraguans wanted. Embassy Secretary Sanzon asked that instead of invoking the Rio pact, the council simply appoint a committee of investigation. As the council had no authority whatever until the pact was invoked, such a committee would of course be unofficial and meaningless. For more than five hours the argument seesawed back and forth. Esquival kept hammering at his central point. The Rio pact called for action in case of attack. The invasion was an attack. Were the distinguished gentlemen going to invoke the pact or not? He was supported strongly by José Mora of Uruguay.

At 8:20 Sunday night the weary ambassadors straggled home for dinner. They had agreed (a) to study the situation carefully; (b) to recommend that the council chairman solicit full information from every source; and (c) to meet again on Tuesday. By great effort and determination they had stalled the issue for forty-eight hours. But the hemisphere waited to see whether the Rio pact meant anything. The ambassadors had to Do Something. It was put up or shut up. On Tuesday they put up. Villegas of Colombia read a long cable from his government:

> If the inter-American system fails . . . the first time it is put to the test, the first to be endangered would be pacifist countries like Colombia. . . . We consider it of vital importance that in the concrete case presented by Costa Rica the system demonstrate its efficiency and not be wrecked by sophistry and dilatory measures. From such a failure only aggressor countries and international communism would benefit. . . .

Drawing by Freyre — Courtesy *Excelsior* (Mexico City)

In Costa Rica
"My General, a gang of fourteen men is threatening to seize the capital."

On Tuesday the ambassadors invoked the Rio pact, and under its provisions called a meeting of American Foreign Ministers for later and appointed an official committee of investigation to fly at once to Costa Rica and Nicaragua. The committee was composed of Bello of Brazil, Daniels of the United States, Quintanilla of Mexico, Villegas of Colombia, and De Lavalle of Peru (chairman). The committee left the next evening. At the last minute De Lavalle, whose new military government had not been recognized by Costa Rica, was told to stay at home.

The press turned handsprings. Here was an international agreement with teeth in it.

ABOARD the big United States army C-54 the committee talked soberly about a plan of action, wondered how they could find out the most in the least time. Tired and unshaven, they landed in San José at 3:45 Friday afternoon, less than a week after Costa Rica's complaint. A crowd of some 50,000 enthusiastic *ticos* nearly mobbed them at the airport. Every foot of the way from the airport to the hotel their automobiles rolled on flowers thrown before them.

The committee members interviewed scores of people in San José and next day left for towns near the front, where they talked to villagers and Costa Rican soldiers. They were shown rifles marked "G. N." (Guardia Nacional). "I suppose that stands for 'Good Neighbor,' " cracked Figueres.

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Meantime Tacho began to spread his smoke screen. His border towns were being attacked by air from Costa Rica, he charged. Two *tico* planes had strafed one of his military outposts, destroying property and endangering the lives of innocent and peaceful Nicaraguans. Would the Organization of American States please put a stop to it? Most emphatically he wanted to know what the committee intended to do about those murderous Costa Rican aviators, and insisted that hordes of the Caribbean Legion still trained in Costa Rica for an invasion of Nicaragua.

On the second morning in Managua Colonel Alfonso Sapia-Bosch, United States military aide for Daniels, warmed up the C-54 and took off on his own for the border. Fighting was still going on at La Cruz, and Sapia-Bosch dropped low enough for his plane markings to be recognized, landed, and conducted his own investigation of the front lines.

The committee's travels left no doubt in any member's mind that it was Tacho's invasion. There was the statement of Florencio Ordóñez, Nicaraguan alternate senator captured by the *ticos* in Santa Rosa:

> The invasion was planned by Calderón Guardia, who counted on the backing of Somoza, including Somoza's promise of help from the Guardia Nacional. . . . Calderón Guardia and Somoza saw each other many times. Calderón Guardia and his brother had a long conference with Somoza four days before the invasion. Friday [Dec. 10] at 3 a.m. several vehicles in one of which was Luis Somoza arrived at Piedras Blancas [border point on the Nica side] where they were given arms. . . . I received my rifle personally from Luis Somoza [Tacho's son]. Some 300 men took part in the invasion of La Cruz, among whom were about 100 Nicaraguans. These included Mayor Blanco, commandante of Léon.

"Lies" said Tacho.

There was the report of *La Prensa* of Managua on December 11, the day after the invasion started:

> In the political circles of this capital it was known perfectly and with wealth of detail that Paco Calderón [a brother of Calderón Guardia] had acquired a great quantity of modern arms in Mexico. . . . Tico immigrants have for a long time been preparing the counter-revolution right here in Nicaragua, to be more exact, in the corridors of the Radio Panamericana . . . there were meetings at which one of our reporters was present.

"Propaganda" said Tacho.

The committee also met Dr. Victor Roman y Reyes, the Nicaraguan puppet President. The conversation? Malaria and only malaria!

The report of the committee was a rather feeble affair. It showed a desire to avoid embarrassing anybody rather than a sense of the necessity of fixing responsibility. The members had seen Nicaraguan prisoners and Nicaraguan arms but they did not mention any clash between Nicaraguans and Costa Ricans. The report censured the Nicaraguan government coyly for "not having taken steps to prevent the invasion" by Costa Rican revolutionaries. It censured Costa Rica, with some justice, for having permitted the formation and training of the Caribbean Legion. It recommended that the border be closed.

Meanwhile, the invasion had been pretty well bottled up, and the *ticos* felt they could handle it if Tacho's troops were not reinforced.

ESQUIVEL of Costa Rica demanded that a military commission be sent to patrol the border and make sure it stayed closed. Again Mora of Uruguay backed him up. Objections came from Quintanilla of Mexico. "If we send a military commission, how will we know how long it will be gone, or when we can expect a report?" he asked. Mora bristled. "When we send firemen to put out a fire we don't ask them how long they will be," he said. "We expect them back after the fire is out." The argument went on and on. Bello of Brazil, a tall, graying man, asked for the floor. "Up to now we have only talked," he said quietly. "While we talk, men are dying. We have been there and seen what is going on, and passed resolutions, but we haven't *done* anything. I am in favor of a military commission."

A five-man military commission composed of colonels from Mexico, the United States, Paraguay, and Brazil and a general from Colombia, left within a few days for the embattled region. At the time of writing they seem to be taking their duties seriously. The border is closed. Few if any of Tacho's troops or armed Costa Rican exiles have crossed. The invaders, cut off from reinforcements and supplies, are being isolated in small groups and captured by the *tico* civilian army.

The Nica-Tico affair is far more important than an unsuccessful invasion of one small country by another might seem. Thanks to the speed with which the gentlemen guiding the destinies of the Organization of American States acted, once they got over their initial diplomatic inertia, the Rio pact has become a living instrument. From a stately shrine of the status quo, the Pan-American Union has overnight become an outfit with life, even with a few muscles.

The first time is always the hardest in anything. Now that they have acted, most of the ambassadors are said to be enjoying in retrospect the stimulating sensation of doing something positive. It is a safe bet that in future cases of aggression they will be ready to act even more quickly. Such an adventure as the flagrant Argentine-manipulated Bolivian revolution of 1943 would probably bring quick and strong repercussions today. That should give pause to such empire-minded gentlemen as Juan Perón. If it does, that is progress.

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Church, State, and Schools

BY G. BROMLEY OXNAM

SECULARISM" is a smoke screen. Behind it the Roman Catholic hierarchy mobilizes to secure public funds for the support of parochial education. The ultimate objective is the destruction of the American principle of the separation of church and state. The campaign was begun November 20 when the Roman Catholic bishops issued a statement called "The Christian in Action." Protestants and Jews will join Roman Catholics in an honest attack on secularism. They will refuse to become allied with an attempt to establish clericalism. Dr. John A. Mackay, president of the Princeton Theological Seminary, defines clericalism as "the pursuit of power, especially political power, by a religious hierarchy, carried on by secular methods, and for purposes of social domination."

The American Roman Catholic hierarchy, as well as the American Communist Party, is bound by directives from a foreign capital. Directives from Rome, like directives from Moscow, are based on principle. Expediency may determine tactics. Strategy embodies principle. Thus, while fully appreciating many of the sentiments in the statement of the Roman Catholic bishops, Americans will note the following: "Authoritative Catholic teaching on the relations between church and state . . . not only states clearly what these relations should be under ideal conditions but also indicates to what extent the Catholic church can adapt herself to the particular conditions that may obtain in different countries." What are "ideal condtions"? "Authoritative Catholic teaching" is clear, and the practice in Roman Catholic countries is even clearer.

"Authoritative Catholic teaching" condemns the separation of church and state, rejects American concepts of religious liberty, and denies the proposition that "every man is free to embrace and profess the religion he shall believe true, guided by the light of reason." It has specifically repudiated the proposition that the state should treat all religions with equal favor. The American is opposed to the government playing religious favorites. The Vatican is for it. Cardinal Spellman signed the bishops' statement, and over Cardinal Spellman's own imprimatur practices under "ideal conditions" are set forth by the Reverend Francis J. Connell, C. SS. R., S. T. D., in a pamphlet entitled "Freedom of Worship, the Catholic Position." Says Dr. Connell: "If the country is distinctively Catholic . . . the civil rulers can consider themselves justified in restricting or preventing denominational activities hostile to the Catholic religion."

"Authoritative Catholic teaching" has forbidden the public school to Roman Catholic children except under special conditions. Pope Pius XI, in an encyclical dated January 16, 1930, wrote:

> Attendance at non-Catholic, neutral, or mixed schools —schools, that is to say, indifferently open to Catholics and non-Catholics without distinction—is forbidden to Catholic children and can only be tolerated at the discretion of bishops in special circumstances of place and time and under special precautions. Neither is it admissible for Catholics to attend mixed schools—worse still if obligatory for all—where religious instruction is provided and pupils receive the rest of their teaching from non-Catholic masters, together with non-Catholic children. . . . For a school to be acceptable it is necessary that the whole teaching and organization of the school —namely, the teachers, the curriculum, and the books— be governed by the Christian spirit, under the maternal direction and vigilance of the church.

IF BEHIND the smoke screen of "secularism" the hierarchy can reach the public treasury, the public school is in danger. To draw off vast sums for the support of sectarian education is to deny these sums to public education, and thereby so weaken it as eventually to destroy it. In his pamphlet "May an American Oppose the Public School?" Paul L. Blakely, S. J., with the approval of Cardinal Hayes declared, "Our first duty to the public school is not to pay taxes for its maintenance. . . . The first duty of each Catholic father to the public school is to keep his children out of it." It is apparent from the statement of Pius XI that the hierarchy is not interested in just the Christian religion but in the Roman Catholic interpretation of the Christian religion, since even if religion were taught in public schools, Roman Catholic children would be forbidden to attend unless it were taught by Catholic instructors under the "maternal direction and vigilance of the church." The Pope goes on to envision separate schools for "various religious faiths . . . entirely Catholic schools for Catholics," and also speaks of "adequate subsidies."

Americans do not question the right of a church to maintain schools to educate its children if the parents so desire. That is a part of American freedom. The issue is one of support. Americans must resist attempts to dis-

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credit and destroy the public school in the name of fighting "secularism." The American public school has been and is a bulwark of democracy. My Protestant sons and daughter sat in classrooms with their Roman Catholic and other friends, Jew by Gentile, black by white, foreign-born by native-born, and learned how to live together in mutual respect—not as Protestants, Roman Catholics, Jews, Gentiles, Negroes, and whites, but as Americans and children of one Father. There is a divisive tendency in this Romanist psychology. Why should there be "Catholic" veterans, "Catholic" broadcasters, "Catholic" columnists, "Catholic" policemen, "Catholic" firemen? They are all American. This is not to deny the right of any church to bring its own people together; but when occupational groups are divided on the basis of religion, the nation is done a disservice. To divide the nation into competing parochial systems of education, and thereby to destroy the public system, is dangerous.

There is no evidence that the graduate of a parochial school is a better citizen than the graduate of a public school or that he is of nobler character, better conduct, higher ideals. The basis of the hierarchy's position is simply its desire to get support for sectarian education.

To this end it is necessary for the hierarchy to discredit the decisions of the Supreme Court. In the much-discussed New Jersey school-bus case the court said, "The First Amendment has erected a wall between church and state. That wall must be kept high and impregnable. We could not approve the slightest breach." But it must be breached if the hierarchy is to reach the public treasury. So the bishops' statement refers to recent decisions as "novel" and announces that "the faithful" will be called upon to secure revision. The bishops pledge themselves to work "peacefully [it is to be hoped no other method would be contemplated by a church!], patiently, and perseveringly" for such revision.

"Secularism" is used to attack the decisions of the Supreme Court. "There we see clearly the determining influence of secularist theories of public education—and possibly of law." But the court actually said:

> To hold that a state cannot consistently with the First and Fourteenth Amendments utilize the public-school system to aid any or all religious faiths or sects in the dissemination of their doctrine and ideals does not . . . manifest a governmental hostility to religion or religious teaching. A manifestation of such hostility would be at war with our national tradition as embodied in the First Amendment's guaranty of the free exercise of religion, for the First Amendment rests upon the premise that both religion and government can best work to achieve their lofty aims if each is left free from the other within its respective sphere.

Too often those who condemn "secularism" forget that the practices of "clergy" as well as those of secular servants are subject to the judgment of God. A holier-than-thou attitude hardly becomes any man—Protestant, Jew, or Roman Catholic—who in the name of religion uses secular means and acts in a secular spirit to enhance his prestige, increase his possessions, or extend his power. "Ye cannot serve God and Mammon" applies to church as well as state. Blessing feudalism and condemning the "secularism" that could not tolerate its injustices is a contradiction that even ecclesiastical casuistry is beset to justify.

"SECULARISM," the bishops say, "has banned religion from tax-supported education and is now bent on destroying all cooperation between government and organized religion in the training of our future citizens." This simply is not true. The bishops continue, "It has undermined the religious foundations of law in the minds of many men in the legal profession and has predisposed them to accept the legalistic tyranny of the omnipotent state." Farther on they say, "Lawyers trained in the American tradition of law will be amazed to find that in the McCollum case the majority opinions pay scant attention to logic, history, or accepted norms of legal interpretation." This is language a bit more temperate than that of the *Catholic Mirror*, but the intent is the same. The *Catholic Mirror*, commenting upon an earlier decision involving church and state, said, "It only goes to prove that Supreme Court justices as well as Southern hill-billies can be bitten by the deep, pitiful, irrational Protestant fear of Roman Catholicism. . . . Justice Jackson has fouled his lines. He fears that the Catholic church, in some thirst for power, seeks to take over education as a first step in some well-planned scheme to raid the public treasury for the support of all its works and institutions." This is unfair to a distinguished justice, but it may be proper to ask: What has happened to the public treasury where "ideal" conditions exist?

There is no constitutional prohibition of the study of religion in the public schools. The difficulty stems rather from denominational differences and insistences upon a particular emphasis. The place of religion, of all religions, in history, sociology, art, music, literature must be known by educated men and women. To rear youth without knowledge of the place of religion in life is to educate but partially. But church and synagogue do more than study religion as a subject; they seek commitment to it as a faith. This is not the function of the school. Perhaps the most penetrating study of this question is found in a report of the American Council of Education, "The Relation of Religion to Public Education." The report says:

> The exclusion of religion from the public schools which so largely prevails today results in its relegation in the minds of youth to a position of relative unimportance. This runs counter, we believe, to the intent of the

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American school system from the beginning. On the other hand, any educational innovation which would tend to identify public education with a particular body of sectarian beliefs and practices we hold to be not only impractical but improper. . . . Holding to the separation of church and state in America, we nevertheless deplore what we consider a strange application of this principle in our school systems. We are unable to believe that a school which accepts responsibility for bringing its students into full possession of their cultural heritage can be considered to have performed its task if it leaves them without a knowledge of the role of religion in our history, its relation to other phases of the culture, and the ways in which the religious life of the American community is expressed.

The leaders of American public education and the teaching staff are in overwhelming majority religious men and women. They are deeply concerned with the spiritual and moral development of the child. The place of religion in the public school could be worked out democratically without too great difficulty were it not for sectarian strife. Americans must not be induced to attack the public school system by a church that is pursuing its own interests.

In the light of the bishops' references to "authoritative Catholic teaching" and "ideal conditions" what is to be made of the statement with which they conclude "The Christian in Action": "We solemnly disclaim any intent or desire to alter this prudent and fair American policy of government in dealing with the delicate problems that have their source in the divided religious allegiance of our citizens"?

IT IS probably true that there is less unity in the American hierarchy than is generally believed. However, there is discipline, and the clergy in general move as one. Since public support is sought for parochial education, it is pertinent to ask what is taught in the schools the public is asked to support. The catechism used in the schools of Spain says that "the principal errors condemned by the church are thirteen," and it lists among them Protestantism, liberalism, and Freemasonry. In question-and-answer form the catechism states the position of the church as follows:

Q. What are the freedoms which liberalism defends?

A. Freedom of conscience, freedom of worship, and freedom of the press.

Q. What does freedom of the press mean?

A. The right to print and publish without previous censorship all kinds of opinions, however absurd and corrupting they may be.

Q. Must the government suppress this freedom by means of censorship?

A. Obviously, yes.

Q. Why?

A. Because it must prevent the deception, calumny, and corruption of its subjects which harm the general good.

Q. Are there other pernicious freedoms?

A. Yes. Freedom of education, freedom of propaganda, and freedom of assembly.

Q. Why are these freedoms pernicious?

A. Because they serve to teach error, propagate vice, and plot against the church.

It may be said, after all that is Spain, this is America.

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Roman Catholic policies are determined in Rome, not in the United States. However, the catechism entitled "Manual of Christian Doctrine," which is used in parochial schools in the United States and carries the imprimatur of Cardinal Dougherty of Philadelphia, is very similar:

Q. What more should the state do than respect the rights and liberties of the church?

A. The state should also aid, protect, and defend the church.

Q. What then is the principal obligation of the heads of states?

A. Their principal obligation is to practice the Catholic religion themselves, and, as they are in power, to protect and defend it.

Q. Has the state the right and the duty to proscribe schism or heresy?

A. Yes, it has the right and duty to do both for the good of the nation and for the faithful themselves; for religious unity is the principal foundation of social unity.

Q. When may the state tolerate dissenting worships?

A. When those worships have acquired a sort of legal existence, consecrated by time and accorded by treaties or covenants.

Q. May the state separate itself from the church?

A. No, because it may not withdraw from the supreme rule of Christ.

Q. What name is given to the doctrine that the state has neither the right nor the duty to be united with the church and to protect it?

A. The doctrine is called liberalism. It is founded principally on the fact that modern society rests on liberty of conscience and of worship, on liberty of speech and of the press.

Q. Why is liberalism to be condemned?

A. Because it denies all subordination of the state to the church; because it confounds liberty with right; because it despises the social dominion of Christ and rejects the benefits derived therefrom.

It is this kind of teaching that is relied upon to beat back "secularism" and to defend democracy. It is this that the public is called upon to support. Behind "secularism" lies clericalism. Vigilance is the price of liberty.

Shanghai Awaits the Communists

BY ANDREW ROTH

Shanghai, December

ANXIETY mixed with resignation hangs like a low fog over Shanghai, economic capital of China. Even at its sunniest Shanghai is not an attractive city. Sprawling out for miles on the banks of the Whangpoo River, its Western-style offices and tenements are testimony that a century ago the "foreign devils" decided the site was a good place from which to tap the rich trade of the Yangtze valley. Most of Shanghai's development has been under Western influence, and until World War II the Western powers had extra-territorial control over the International Settlement and the French Concession: it was a Shanghai park that displayed the sign "No Dogs or Chinese Allowed." Although extra-territoriality has now been given up, Shanghai is still the focus of Western economic influence.

One can feel here the depth of China's anti-foreignism. This attitude stems in part from the age-old idea that China is the "Central Nation," the center of all culture and wisdom. In part it is a product of China's resentment against the semi-colonial status to which it was degraded by the Western powers. The United States is now unpopular with virtually all elements. The Communists are bitterly anti-American because our aid has sustained their opponents; the Kuomintang, because the two billion dollars we have poured in has not been enough to defeat the Communists. The people in the middle feel that American aid has prolonged the cruel destruction of the civil war.

The gateway to Central China, Shanghai has exacted its toll on imports and exports. With a supply of cheap labor, it has found it profitable to manufacture some of the raw materials passing through and to sell the articles produced to less industrialized sectors of the country and other parts of Asia. About half of China's industrial workers live in the Shanghai area.

Though it is China's most advanced metropolis, Shanghai has its feet stuck deep in the clinging mud of the medieval past. The strident horns of sleek 1948 automobiles compete with the warning shouts of rickshaw pullers and of men hauling huge loads. Picturesque junks with handwoven fiber sails are silhouetted on "battleship row" between modern vessels whose superstructures are cluttered with complicated radar apparatus. But the sharpest contrast in Shanghai is that between the rich and the poor. Even before the war the city was one of the world's worst sweatshops; today semi-skilled factory hands work twelve hours a day for about 50 American cents, including a cost-of-living allowance always one step behind runaway prices.

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T. V. Soong

Most people in China are so overwhelmingly concerned with the grinding problem of survival that they seem to be ignoring the climactic battles of the civil war being fought one hour's flying time away. Or perhaps they trust in Shanghai's reputation as a "lucky city" which has emerged almost unscathed from a century of civil wars and invasions. The tens of thousands of refugees who have poured in from the battle-ravaged countryside have been swallowed up by the teeming population. Even the destitute ones who beg by the wayside are not so conspicuous as the nagging professional beggars. They will probably become more conspicuous when their emaciated frozen bodies pile up on Shanghai's sidewalks under the bitter midwinter winds.

Troops are little in evidence. Occasionally one sees a company of soldiers in faded yellow uniforms and with the dazed expression of poor farmers' sons just dragged from the fields. Sometimes a conscript breaks out of the line, trying to escape the army by losing himself in Shanghai's crowds. Shanghai concerns itself with these underfed, resentful troops only when they tear loose and pillage outlying districts.

But the war has had more serious indirect effects on Shanghai. As the city's economic hinterland is eaten away by the Communists, its markets and sources of raw material for export diminish. The wheels of its industries are slowing down, adding thousands of jobless to the mass of refugees. Last April local factories used 53,000,000 kilowatts of electric power; by November they were using only 38,000,000, and December's figure is expected to be still lower. Thus even before the war has really reached Shanghai, the city is gray with cold, hunger, and uncertainty.

A LARGE proportion of Shanghai's capitalists are not only resigned to the entrance of the Communists but take the attitude: "They can't be much worse than the Kuomintang!"

During the height of the panic in November many speculators and other persons whose capital was in liquid assets which could be or had been smuggled out of the country crowded the planes bound for Hongkong and Taiwan (Formosa). But this exodus slackened in December when the Kuomintang armies made a fairly sustained effort to slow down Communist advances north of Nanking. As the Communist noose tightens now around Peiping, Tientsin, and Nanking, the panic is expected to begin again, especially among the big "bureaucratic capitalists" whose wealth has come largely from their positions in the Kuomintang hierarchy. The chief of these, H. H. Kung, has long been sending his assets to Hongkong and the United States and is at present attempting to speed up the process. He tried to transport the plant of his Shanghai paper, the *China Press*, to Canton or Hongkong, but his printers objected so strongly to losing their source of livelihood that he transferred ownership, at least nominally, to an American lawyer here. This device of transferring title to American dummy owners is being used extensively; the clerk in the American consulate who notarizes such title registrations is besieged by applicants.

One of the Kuomintang stalwarts who is expected to flee from Shanghai is Tu Yueh-sen, respectably known as the chairman of the National Association of Industries and referred to as a "civic leader" but more colorfully and accurately described as the boss of the Shanghai underworld. In a recent interview Tu suggested that the Americans, British, and other foreigners should join to defend Shanghai against the Communists, preferably with the help of the United States navy. In exchange for this aid Tu would be willing to make some concessions. As head of the Chinese Shipowners' Association he has opposed the operation of foreign ships on China's inland waters, but now he might allow it. As yet he has not gone so far as some frightened local Kuomintang supporters who are reported to have offered to declare Shanghai an "international city"—that is, reduce it to its pre-war, foreign-dominated status—if the United States would agree to protect it.

A surprisingly large group of prominent Shanghai citizens are sitting tight, waiting to see what the Communists will do. Many of them remain because it is too late to liquidate their holdings, but others have become so bitterly anti-Chiang that they feel the Communists cannot be worse. Some of these very industrialists gave Chiang his start, and he depended on their support during his first decade in power. When the Sino-Japanese war drove Chiang into the interior, his link with the Shanghai industrialists was severed, and he became dependent on the landed gentry and on bureaucratic millionaires like H. H. Kung and T. V. Soong.

Caricatures by Seligson

H. H. Kung

At the war's end Chiang expected business men to knuckle under. Many did. Those who didn't were penalized by the government. Thus when the fabulously wealthy Yung (flour and textile) family

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ordered about ten million (U. S.) dollars' worth of new machinery in the States just after V-J Day, they were refused import licenses because they had not kotowed to Chiang. Many other rich men felt increasingly annoyed at having to pay regular monthly allowances to one or another group of Kuomintang secret police or economic investigators to avoid arrest, whether deserved or not. The widely heralded "economic reform" of last August was the last straw. Hundreds of substantial Shanghai business people—but *not* members of the "favored families"—were arrested for practices which a few days before had been standard and accepted.

It is said that the jailed industrialists were easy converts for the jailed leftist students in the crowded prisons. Certainly their experiences last August, plus Kuomintang military reverses, have made them accessible to Communist approaches. The Communists, whether for tactical or other reasons, have been following a very moderate line. They center their attack on the "bureaucratic capitalists" and promise immunity to "national capitalists"—those not too closely linked with the Kuomintang or the United States. Furthermore, they have announced their intention of encouraging private trade and industry, although within directed lines. This propaganda is backed up by the Basic Land Law passed in October, 1947, by the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the twelfth point of which grants "exemption of merchants' and manufacturers' properties and enterprises from redistribution." There are unconfirmed reports that the Shanghai industrialists and the Communists are negotiating.

After a period of panic in November caused by the United States consul general's request that all nonessential Americans be evacuated, the foreign business community has settled down to sweating it out. Although there is naturally considerable anti-Communist feeling among its members, very little pro-Kuomintang feeling is found except in concerns which have been special Kuomintang favorites, like General Chennault's Civil Air Transport Company. Most Americans resent the fact that despite the aid given it the Kuomintang has used every trick in the book to make it difficult for them to operate here. But when American firms are tempted to pull out, they remember that British firms are staying and will pick up any opportunities they let drop. So American business men—but not their wives—wait uneasily to see what life under the Communists will be like. And most of Shanghai waits with them.

The Clouds Lift over India

BY SHIVA RAO

New Delhi, January 4

THE New Year has opened somewhat hopefully for improved relations between India and Pakistan, both countries having accepted the cease-fire proposals in Kashmir. First reactions everywhere have been of relief and satisfaction, for it is believed that this preliminary step may quickly lead to the establishment of lasting peace. Many things have contributed to this mood of compromise, not the least of them being the growing realization that the prolonged military operations in Kashmir were not only preventing both countries from settling down to programs of economic and social reconstruction but through the heavy expenditures required were accentuating inflation—perhaps the most serious problem confronting them today.

On a large number of other issues, as I pointed out in a dispatch to *The Nation* last summer, India and Pakistan are conscious of their interdependence.* India cannot conveniently do without Pakistan's cotton, and Pakistan must obtain a substantial amount of its cloth from India's textile mills. In regard to food, too, India is normally a deficit area, while Pakistan has an exportable surplus. In fact, this mutual dependence exists in many sectors of the two countries' economic life. The recent conference at New Delhi reached satisfactory agreements on a number of issues, leaving the complicated problem of Kashmir for separate treatment through the United Nations commission.

While acceptance by both countries of the cease-fire proposals, effective as of midnight, January 1, opens the door for a final settlement, much remains to be accomplished before one can claim such settlement is in sight. India has always insisted that a cease-fire order meant that Pakistan troops and raiding tribesmen should withdraw from Kashmir territory and that normal administration should be restored. During the past year considerable movements of population have taken place as a consequence of the large-scale military operations. Kashmir's population must return to its original home and be guaranteed freedom from interference of every sort before conditions for a fair plebiscite can be considered established. How long this will take no one can tell—nor whether, during the interval, marauding tribesmen

SHIVA RAO is The Nation's *and the Manchester* Guardian's *correspondent in India.*

* India's First Difficult Year, September 11, 1949.

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can restrain their love of looting and keep off Kashmir's tempting soil.

The governments of both India and Pakistan are keenly awaiting publication of the U. N. commission's substantive proposals for settlement of the Kashmir problem. They, and also the people of the two countries, will want to study these proposals with care before final commitment. Optimism regarding the outcome must therefore be qualified until the full details are available.

CERTAIN external events are bringing India and Pakistan closer together. The Dutch aggression in Indonesia has stirred public opinion throughout the peninsula as few events have done since the end of World War II. Nehru has invited governmental representatives of twelve Asian countries to meet at New Delhi, possibly by the middle of January, to discuss the situation, and the response has been encouraging. During his recent visit to London and Paris Nehru talked with the Foreign Ministers of several Asian countries who were leaders of their respective delegations to the U. N. General Assembly and found a surprisingly large measure of agreement on the need for common action by the Asian members of the U. N., somewhat on the lines followed by the Latin American republics. While he is averse to the creation of an Asian bloc, Nehru would not object to the formulation of common policies on specific problems.

The move toward such collaboration received a setback at Paris when the Arab states showed their indifference to the future of Southwest Africa and failed to register a vigorous protest against South Africa's expansionist designs. Indonesia, however, seems to have stirred the Moslem countries of the Middle East, presumably because it is in Asian territory and many of the people are Moslems. How far Nehru can realize his ambition to use the Indonesian issue to rally all Asia to demand the liquidation of Western imperialism, it is too early to say. But undoubtedly the conference will produce the first attempt on the part of the Asian countries to work out the broad aspects of a common foreign policy.

Internal stresses are also making India and Pakistan aware that they face common tasks and responsibilities. Some are becoming so formidable as to challenge the authority of the new governments. The prices of essential commodities are constantly rising. In India the price of food, which a year ago stood at 336 (100 representing the pre-war price), has now risen to 402. Cloth, the next most important item for the masses, has risen from 322 to 413. The staggering burden of these increases has been endured with remarkable patience in the whole period since India's achievement of independence.

Gandhi and the Congress leaders taught the masses that starvation and distress were almost inevitable under British rule. Just before his murder almost a year ago Gandhi exerted all his influence to obtain the removal of price controls imposed by the British during the war. The system had bred corruption among officials, and Gandhi was convinced its abolition would bring relief. Actually, however, prices have shot up even higher, and there has been no perceptible diminution of corruption. Black markets operate everywhere with impunity.

Anti-social elements have amassed enormous fortunes by illegitimate means, and it is not easy to devise measures which would effectively curb them. Their sinister influence is not confined to the economic sphere. After Gandhi's murder a movement which had grown mysteriously during the war under an Indian name meaning National Service Corps became suspect. Abhorrence of the crime was so deep and widespread that for some months this organization thought it prudent to lie low. As the long-drawn-out trial of Gandhi's murderer and his accomplices proceeded, its leaders became bolder and adopted the same tactics that the Congress leaders had used earlier against the British. Thousands of persons have been arrested in recent weeks throughout India, and the back of the movement has probably been broken. Nevertheless, in several big cities volunteers continue to defy the police and offer themselves daily for arrest. It is a strange movement, built on secrecy and advocating violence for attainment of its objectives.

In its earliest phases the organization served as a defensive weapon for Hindus against Moslem aggressiveness on the eve of the partition of India. Gandhi and his lieutenants, like Nehru, were accused of advocating appeasement of the Moslems and with failing to protect Hindu lives and interests. To the extent that India and Pakistan can now resolve their differences such a movement will lose ground.

Pakistan's internal plight is far worse than India's. Floods did serious damage to crops during the summer, and the black market has driven the masses to desperation. Jinnah's death left the new state without a leader whose authority everyone would accept implicitly. In such circumstances it is wisdom to bring the ruinous fighting over Kashmir to a speedy end. However, the cessation of hostilities may create new problems. Provincial and class jealousies, kept down with difficulty even during Jinnah's lifetime, may flame up when peace in Kashmir lays the bogy of India's hostile intentions toward Pakistan. The task of keeping the hungry and unemployed tribesmen out of mischief will make the situation even more difficult.

All these are sobering considerations which underline the need for caution. Nevertheless, the cease-fire in Kashmir definitely lifts the clouds which have darkened the sky since the partition of India in August, 1947.

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Del Vayo—The Future of the Cold War

IF I am more than ever convinced that there will be no war and that a modus vivendi with Russia will finally be found, to replace the present tension, I have no illusion that the war of words will become less virulent in the coming months. New Year messages show West and East as determined to carry on the cold war as they were at the beginning of 1948. Until the very eve of a rapprochement between Russia and the United States we shall probably still hear spokesmen for both sides abusing each other in the U. N., outside the U. N., over the radio, and in the press. It is the same in a cold war as in a hot war—until the last shot is fired, the air is laden with gunpowder.

While the cold war was an American invention—if I recall correctly it was Bernard Baruch who first used the expression—the Russians were undoubtedly well pleased that the fighting was to be on terrain where they knew themselves to be particularly strong, the terrain of propaganda. During the past fourteen months of cold war the West has emphasized the growing strength of its military resources and the development of its plans for a broad Atlantic pact which ultimately would limit the adversaries of the Anglo-Saxon way of life to Russia and its neighbors. The East, on the contrary, has emphasized not its progress in rearmament but its efforts for disarmament; it has not called attention to a growing stockpile of atomic bombs or to stores of other deadly weapons but to the reconstruction work going on in the "people's democracies."

The Russians make mistakes, but they are quicker in repairing them. They do not go on forever supporting Perón in Argentina, as the Western powers have been and still are supporting Franco. If they use a Nazi, it is always with the idea of destroying him afterward, not of preparing his triumphant comeback, as the Allies are doing today in western Germany with Dr. Schacht. On the whole the Russians have shown greater intelligence than their opponents in using methods which appeal more strongly to the masses than can any announcement about the new armies to be raised by the chiefs of staff of the planned Atlantic coalition.

In all the talk about military preparations the only thing that impresses people is the atomic bomb. A report that so many divisions will be furnished by France and so many by some other country causes no excitement; the average Frenchman simply shrugs his shoulders skeptically and says, "Bah! The Americans will provide the money and we the *poilus*."

Their experience in the last war has taught the people of Europe that military strength is not everything. In the struggle for liberation the men of the *maquis* felt superior to the best-equipped German soldier because they were inspired by a superior idea. Since then the European man in the street has seen the Greek army with its fine American equipment, the army of Chiang Kai-shek, who has received billions from the United States, the renowned Arab Legion with its smartly turned-out British instructors, all routed by people's armies—some of them mere bands of "shirtless" men like General Markos's guerrillas. One hundred and forty years ago the keenest columnist of his time, Goethe, noted a similar happening, when at Valmy the ragged French soldiers, inflamed by the Revolution, defeated the magnificently trained army of Frederick of Prussia. That was perhaps the first demonstration of the truth that "ideas are weapons," about which so many books and articles have since been written.

A propaganda which tries mainly to give an impression of military strength and does not take into account the fact that support from reactionary forces injures any cause will be rebutted by propaganda based on a daring political concept. Every big development throughout the world plays into the Russians' hands. I can already hear Vishinsky opening the U. N. Assembly at Lake Success next April by saying he speaks for "half of humanity." If events in the colonial countries of Southeast Asia take the same course as in China, his claim will be justified. And the next time Indonesia, Palestine, and Greece come before the Assembly, the Russians can reinforce their former arguments by pointing to the Western powers' newest failures in those regions.

Soviet propaganda may be laughed off by Americans when it continues to predict economic crises that fail to develop, but many Europeans find equally ridiculous the picture of Eastern Europe presented by the Western press and radio. The average Frenchman, who knows that every month he needs more francs in order to eat because the dollar has risen again on the black market, says to himself that while Hungary may be the terrible place described in his newspaper, it is one of the few countries in Europe with a stable currency. The intellectuals who attended the congress at Wroclaw may have been infuriated by Fadayev's speech, but they were impressed by what had been accomplished in Poland. A visitor from the West can find many things which offend him deeply in all the Eastern countries, but the picture of them drawn by the American press is so distorted that it can be easily discredited by the Russians.

For a cold war to be carried on successfully the first essential is a logical, straightforward foreign policy that the people will support. Unfortunately the bulk of Americans don't want to be bothered with Indonesia or Greece, and the intellectuals are eager to escape from the tiresome problems of a complicated international situation to the exciting realm of world government—a "global brain trust" is the latest fad. Practical politician that I am, I ask not for world government but for a meeting of the four Foreign Ministers—if only to put an end to the foolish policy to which they seem committed in Germany. And rather than a "global brain trust" I would like to see a Foreign Relations Committee of the American Senate occupied with devising a foreign policy that would change the cold war into a warm peace. The appointment of Dean Acheson as the new Secretary of State should help make that possible. Much as he disapproves of Russian policy, Mr. Acheson is a civilian, a man who thinks in terms of policy rather than of disposition of troops.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

MUST PSYCHOLOGY AID REACTION?

BY HELEN MERRELL LYND

PSYCHOLOGY occupies a key position among the kinds of knowledge brought to bear upon the troubles of our time. Economists, political scientists, experts in international affairs give advice on special aspects of society, but the specialty attributed to the psychologist is no less than "basic human nature," on which all social institutions rest. This seems to give him the last word. And this word is sought increasingly, not only in individual psychiatric treatment, but in demands for psychologists and psychiatrists to guide "human-relations programs" in industry, government, army, and overseas relations.

It is, accordingly, important to examine closely the version of "healthy adjustment" and "adequate personality" that these specialists retained by government and industry advocate. For a theory of personality, once accepted, comes to be taken as a norm by which widely varied policies of action are judged.

A recent book by Dr. Harry Stack Sullivan,* largely neglected in the general press, focuses this problem. It is the work of an exceptionally exploring mind, the product of years of experience in treatment of schizophrenia and in clinical research, and of psychiatric consultation in war and rehabilitation. But, further, there are few psychologists—from laboratory psychologists to psychoanalysts—who face as directly as Dr. Sullivan the relation between the nature of each separate individual and the nature of the society which breeds his problems and in which he must contrive to live.

Here is a psychiatrist who shows that an individual can only be understood in terms of the whole system of social relations which has produced him, that the doctor cannot diagnose individual ills without taking the whole environment into account, and that the total situation of a patient in hospital, in neighborhood, or in the wider society is more important in effecting a cure than any particular doctor or therapy.

Specific points of great interest to anyone engaged in teaching, in healing, or in any work for social change emerge:

Mental illness, including even schizophrenia, is not an adaptation sharply distinguished from health. The tensions present in our society lead in extreme form to the protest of schizophrenia, more frequently to the varying degrees of rigidity which are called "normal behavior."

"Anxiety," an inhibiting apprehension continually pervading the personality (as distinguished from fear, which is occasioned by specific events), is an almost inevitable outcome of the system of social relations in which we live.

It is only in pre-adolescence that an individual can begin to go beyond childhood egocentrism to a genuine, imaginative awareness of other people. Any attempt to force social behavior before pre-adolescence is likely to result, not in a sound basis for social action, but in hypocrisy and a cramped personality which "cripple his offspring at least to the second generation."

In dealing with students, with patients, or with any group or nation the first step is to see the world through their eyes, to enter into what they are trying to do, however strange their behavior seems. Genuine communication is impossible on any other basis.

The physician works with the patient as "participant observer," not attempting to censor, manipulate, or force the patient into health; he recognizes the disease itself as part of a positive struggle for health. The doctor must drop his defenses and be another human being in relation to the patient, as the patient must drop his defenses in relation to the psychiatrist if he is to be helped; the second is impossible without the first. Individuals are more simply human than they are healthy or diseased; research and therapy are linked; the psychiatrist should always go to school to the patient.

The book is far richer in concrete detail than these few excerpts suggest. Particularly in the case of a scientist as subtle, and sometimes as difficult, as Dr. Sullivan, brief restatement means distortion. But whatever point is under immediate discussion Dr. Sullivan never loses sight of the extent to which the individual and his problems are determined by our contemporary system of social relations. His clinical experience leads him to the belief—revolutionary in terms of the history of psychiatry—that man's biological nature need not condemn him to conflict with society. Anxiety and conflict are unnecessarily magnified by this particular institutional world, but institutions are man-made and can be changed by men. A society which will make possible social relations that enhance rather than constrict individuals can become a reality.

Here we would seem to have the psychological basis on which to go "forward from liberalism." Working in terms of Sullivan's own analysis demands direct attention to problems which are the central concern of left-wing economists and political scientists. However impartial the psychiatrist attempts to be, a conception of what constitutes mental illness implies a concept or standard of health by which illness is judged. If no other standard is made explicit, the standard implied is the adaptation demanded by the present social situation. We would expect Sullivan to dissociate himself from those psychiatrists who support contemporary institutions as the setting for mental health, who believe that acceptance rather than rebellion is a sign of health, and who consequently make the goal of teaching, or of healing, "adjustment" to present society. His own analysis of personality should lead him to welcome attempts to alter current social institutions as forthright as his efforts to bring about drastic changes in current medical practice. This he does not do. Instead, he joins with those psychologists and psychiatrists who label

* "Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry." By Harry Stack Sullivan. With a Critical Appraisal by Patrick Mullahy. William Alanson White Foundation. $2.

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attempts to effect fundamental change in contemporary institutions "neurotic."

Examples of this tendency in mental therapy are only too frequent. To give only one, and by no means the most extreme: In a paper in the *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* for October, 1947, Dr. Elisabeth Hellersberg cites the case of an intelligent young college man who as an undergraduate had been "a rebellious left-wing social critic" and who later developed serious mental illness. After psychoanalysis he "visibly recovered." In addition to the falling off of radical interests, his mental health was shown in the following incident: ". . . he discovered that he could not quite meet his expenses and, on an impulse, lifted the telephone receiver and asked for an interview with his superior. He was given an appointment immediately, and went to his manager and announced that his salary was no longer suitable for the work he was doing. He received a 100 per cent increase instantly." The implication seems clear: the healthy, adjusted person does not need to question the society; he can demand and get whatever economic support he needs from it. New York school teachers please note!

It is this sort of emphasis, which appears also in the work of Franz Alexander, Harold Lasswell, and others, which Dr. Sullivan, contrary to his own analysis, seems to indorse. After pointing out the destructive effect of the present social order on human beings "not merely as it sets the limits within which the patient's interpersonal relations may succeed" but "as the . . . source from which spring his problems, which are themselves signs of difficulties in the social order" (p. 87), he, nevertheless, goes on nine pages later to discuss the apparently psychopathic character of individuals and of groups who work for any radical change in this social order. "Radical views" he regards as a sign of personal insecurity which should be cured. No one would deny that some radicals are neurotic. But that is a very different thing from saying that only neurotics develop radical social views, or that radical programs are necessarily evil or undesirable. Dr. Sullivan indorses prestige, defined in Lasswell's terms of "security, income, and deference" as a central goal of our society within which the psychiatrist should work. In an article published after this book, carrying out his distinction between fear which is justified by the objective situation and neurotic anxiety, he says: "Instances of fear in the course of accustomed peace-time living are not numerous." Writing in the second quarter of the twentieth century, of just what area of the globe, of what people, of what class is Dr. Sullivan speaking?

Judge Jerome N. Frank comments on this article that Dr. Sullivan's great contribution lies in showing the folly of those who stress economic and social factors in social change and in insisting that "in the cure of souls lies our hope of survival." One is reminded of the recent *Life* forum on the Pursuit of Happiness. Powerful defenders of the status quo are quick to recognize and to use this impact of the psychological disciplines in support of social quiescence.

As long as the psychologist stayed in his laboratory and the psychiatrist confined his efforts to individual patients, it did not matter so much how they interpreted the social scene. Now, however, we have the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, psychiatrists and other social scientists working together at the London Conference on Mental Health, and psychologists called in to give authoritative advice on all sorts of issues of peace and war. This heightened awareness of the relation of the individual to society can become one of the most hopeful contemporary developments. Actually, there is danger that it is creating new polarities of thought and thus contributing to the impotence of social science in the world which natural science has made possible. On the one hand, there is a tendency among psychologists and cultural anthropologists to see the roots of all social ills—from personal frustration to industrial conflict and war—in terms of "aggression and suspicion rooted in childhood," "the feeding and swaddling customs of early infancy," and the resulting "national character structure." This school tends to rest the case for any desirable social change on change in methods of child-rearing. On the other hand, some of the ablest left-wing economists and political scientists, doubtful that any good can come from this sort of psychology, or that there can be any other at present, concentrate all their attention on economic and political change and regard anything except "common-sense psychology" as an intrusion. The first group tends to divert attention from economic and political realities which have to be faced to bring about the very changes in personality they are working for. And those left-wing social scientists who ignore or minimize the relevant findings of psychology are depriving themselves of data which are indispensable for achieving and maintaining the society they are trying to build. More knowledge of conscious and unconscious factors shaping personality might not prevent any particular Communist turning informer, or splits on the American left, or October into Thermidor. But tragic misjudgments of individuals, parties, and nations might be avoided and a sounder basis for coherent social action laid if more heed were given to the sort of evidence set forth in this book.

Dr. Sullivan's work provides a basis for more effective action on the part of social scientists. But it must be used to examine directly the ills inherent in our institutions, not to justify supporting them.

Chesterton says that you should know when you set out to march to Trafalgar Square whether it is "to rid yourself of your temper, not of your tyrant." But tyrants as well as tempers exist; and it is also the part of man to resist the tyrant. Koestler's "Arrival and Departure" may explain a particular Peter, but it does not dispose of the question of revolution. Understanding the sources of personal concern with evils in society does not dissipate the evils. It gives greater freedom to attack them.

Explaining Dr. Einstein

THE UNIVERSE AND DR. EINSTEIN. By Lincoln Barnett. With a Foreword by Albert Einstein. William Sloane Associates. $2.50.

THE author of this remarkable little book undertakes to cover in scarcely more than one hundred pages the entire story of the post-Newtonian revolution, from Locke and Berkeley through Einstein's special and general theories of relativity. No other popular exposition with which I am familiar attempts so much in so short a space or succeeds

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so well in avoiding the usual difficulty —which is of course the seeming necessity of choosing between the presentation of mathematical or other technicalities which the layman cannot really follow and the resting content with methaphorical simplifications which will give him a false sense of understanding what he does not really understand. The present book requires close attention and hard thinking, but it does not require any special knowledge which a reasonably well-informed layman does not have. Moreover, the approval of Einstein himself, as well as that of a number of physicists who have assisted the author, seems a better assurance than any a lay reviewer could possibly give that the points made are acceptable to experts.

Some part of the author's unusual success is probably due to the fact that he begins, not with either the theories of modern physics or the facts which it attempts to explain, but with the epistemological difficulties which will prepare the reader to accept those conceptions necessary to physics that seem to run counter to common sense. Anyone can understand Locke's attempt to distinguish between those "secondary" qualities of matter like color and taste —which are plainly subjective—and the "primary" qualities like shape and motion, which seem to be objective. But anyone can also follow Leibnitz's demonstration that the perception of the so-called primary qualities also depends, only a little less obviously, upon our sense perceptions, and that they also are therefore "secondary." Moreover, once this fact is grasped, it is not difficult to proceed upon the assumption, which physics now finds it necessary to accept, that the entire structure of reality may be one which neither our senses nor our imagination—working with the data supplied by the senses—prepares us to understand. If certain facts seem to prove that light is composed of waves and certain other facts seem to prove that it is composed of particles of matter which, at the same time, behave in ways in which matter as we previously understood it could not possibly behave, the reason may be, not that one or the other theory is right, but that fundamental distinctions we have tried to make between "matter" and "waves" are distinctions between human perceptions and conceptions, not between real things.

The paradoxes of modern physics have imposed themselves so irresistibly because, though their inner logic conflicts with certain of our common-sense deductions from sense impressions, they are at the same time compatible with others with which the common-sense deductions themselves cannot be reconciled. The Michelson-Morely demonstration that the speed of light is constant even when emitted from a moving body, the famous bending of the star light as it passes close to the sun, and the perturbations in the movement of the planet Mercury are all inexplicable on common-sense assumptions but expected by those of modern physics. Thus one is not given a choice between two closed systems—the system of common sense and the system of the physicist—but compelled to recognize that the one can be made to criticize the other in such a way that the inconsistency of common sense with experience is actually as demonstrable as the consistency of the new concepts is.

Without doubt Einstein's "field theory" is the most difficult part of the whole subject for a layman to grasp. That is perhaps partly because it is actually the most recent and complex addition and partly because Einstein himself has not yet reached his final conclusions. But here, too, the author of the present book shows great ingenuity in beginning his exposition not with the theory itself but by pointing out the paradoxes of the conventional view. Any layman can see, has indeed probably seen for himself, the unsatisfactoriness of the concept of gravity acting across space after a fashion totally unlike any other force; and even the layman can grasp without difficulty the equally unsatisfactory state of affairs created by the strange anomaly which arises when we have to assume that a falling body is exempt from one of the fundamental laws governing every other kind of accelerated motion—namely, the law which presents the effect of mass upon it. And once the layman has understood those difficulties he is prepared as well as he can be for the Einsteinian concept of a universal "field" which will resolve the paradox.

One little objection I cannot refrain from making. Mr. Barnett recognizes that a distrust of the senses as complete as now seems almost inevitable necessarily leads us to the brink of absolute solipsism. "Most modern physicists," he says, "consider it rather naive to speculate about the true nature of anything. . . . For in the abstract lexicon of quantum physics there is no such word as 'really'." And yet on another page he can say, "It must not be thought, however, that the space-time continuum is simply a mathematical construction. The world *is* a space-time continuum." Now an italicized "is" seems to be an asser-

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tion concerning "reality," and I wonder if this involves a contradiction. Or is the statement, in still a third place, that "a curious order runs through our perceptions, as if indeed there might be an underlayer of objective reality which our senses translate," an out for him?

Mr. Barnett might have told, though he does not, the story of how the mathematician Euler ruined the reputation of Diderot at the court of Catherine the Great by demanding a response —which Diderot, being no mathematician, could not give—to the nonsensical statement "*a* plus *b* to the *nth* power divided by *n* equals *x;* therefore God exists." These days Einstein's now almost too familar "*E* equals *m* times c^2" is being bandied about as a kind of magic incantation by people who have only the foggiest idea of what it means. Such might profitably read Mr. Barnett's book, since modern physics does have its legitimate metaphysical implications. Thus though Einstein himself tends to regard the "principle of indeterminacy" as only a confession of present ignorance, many see in it a fundamental fact of the universe; and that fact, if it really is a fact, may resolve the difficulty which metaphysics never has—the difficulty, that is, of understanding how the human will can possibly be free in a world where everything is an effect before it can become a cause. And if modern physics should be responsible for the atom bomb on the one hand and for a restitution of belief in free will on the other, one might well wonder which of the two would have the greatest effect upon human history. Personally I am not at all sure that the current conviction that no man is ultimately responsible for his acts is not more destructive than atomic explosions are ever likely to be.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

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The Sitwell Memoir

LAUGHTER IN THE NEXT ROOM. By Sir Osbert Sitwell. An Atlantic Monthly Press Book. Little, Brown and Company. $4.

IN A time when too many novels pretending to importance are really journalists' exploitations of recent horrors or autobiography which distorts facts slightly to create a bastard fiction, I wonder if what Cyril Connolly calls "the planned autobiography" may not be preferable as an art form. If, abandoning creation, a writer must talk about himself, why should he be hobbled with the trappings of fiction? Consider how superior as art *and* documentation "Christ Stopped at Eboli" is to the timely novels of recent years.

In "Left Hand, Right Hand!" the first in the series of which "Laughter in the Next Room" is the fourth and penultimate volume, Sir Osbert Sitwell states that he has planned his book as a whole, "gothic, complicated in surface, and crowded with turrets and with pinnacles." In the present work he makes his point again: "These books in their entirety . . . I planned as a work of art. They concern the family history, childhood, education, and self-establishment of a writer." And he speaks of "a no doubt ambitious plan to illustrate through my own career and sensibilities a family, a background, and an age."

Family and background are beautifully illustrated. Only fragments of the age, 1892-1944, come through—the aristocratic world into which the three Sitwells were born and the artistic world in which presumably they now find themselves most at home. In the foreground are Osbert, Edith, and Sacheverell, and, almost of more importance, their incredible father, Sir George, whose goings on read like those of an eighteenth-century eccentric. Here also are their mother, the naive, beautiful, and tempestuous Lady Ida, and the Sitwell general factotum, the wonderful Henry Moat. In the background is a host of relatives and friends, most of them, in the eighteenth-century sense, "originals." The flow of narrative (I speak of the entire work) shifts pleasantly and in a leisurely fashion from the Sitwell ancestry to anecdotes of childhood, to the account of how Sargent painted the family group, to Osbert at school and, later, in the Guards and the First World War. The present volume is devoted largely to his introduction to the arts and to artists and to his career as a writer in the years between the wars. The innumerable anecdotes are often very funny and always urbane and apposite. They are part of the plan and never merely casual. The quality of Sir Osbert's recollection is startling. He remembers, as Proust remembered, each smallest detail of how things looked and felt and smelled and sounded. The illusion of total recall is almost perfect.

Yet when all the anecdotes have been told and all the careful and beautiful recollections of lights and shadows have been set down, what gives life and meaning to this kind of writing is the convictions the author holds dear. This book is a tissue of convictions. In addition to never forgetting his ancestry, Sir Osbert is ever aware that he belongs "by birth, education, nature, outlook, and period to the pre-war era, a proud citizen of the great free world of 1914, in which comity prevailed." The triumph of "dustman-democracy" has been catastrophic. Writing of the Armistice of 1918 he breaks into a Jeremiad: "The dark wind of destruction tore like a falling angel across the European sky. In short, the popular reign of piracy, exalted to a creed, had begun. Whole classes were eradicated so that the world should in time be made safe, on one hand, for a beer-logged trades-unionism in the victorious countries, and, on the other, for Hitler and Bolshevism. For Hitler belonged to the people." In addition to having brought on two world holocausts, democracy has never encouraged the artist; indeed, it hates him. Sir Osbert's views about the artist—and they inform the entire work—are clearly stated: "Already, even at the start, I realized the sacredness of my task; because, long before I had detected any capacity in myself, the artist had appeared to me as priest, prophet, and lawgiver, as well as interpreter; the man who enabled men to see and feel and pointed out to them the way." This is a little vatic and hardly novel, but I find it cheering. Here, in a bad time, and amid much apostasy, is a writer who has held to his creed; the dedication has been complete.

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But the dedication is out of all proportion to the memorial. Sir Osbert is frequently stuffy. The content of his experience is rich, but there is a strange failure in the personality of the recorder. The total effect is burked. As a result, for example, the constant talk about pedigree and "blood" is at best entertaining gossip, although it is meant to be serious and is part of the general plan. Too often it is pompous. If it is any measure of the excellence of an autobiography that it should give its readers, by one means or another, and not necessarily in a flood of confidence, an unmistakably clear picture of the author, this book has a serious flaw. There is a consistent remoteness here which dissipates the effect of the sometimes astonishing intimacies. The statue never really comes to life; there is no real geniality. And there is an occasional serious lack of proportion. In the effort to illustrate "a family, a background, and an age," family and background are confounded with the age; so that the decline of the Western world, so often and truly insisted upon, is almost equated with the complex and ruinous financial difficulties of Lady Ida Sitwell. To use his own terms: as an artist Sir Osbert is chiefly a prophet; as priest or lawgiver he has little to say.

ERNEST JONES

Jonathan Edwards's Images

IMAGES OR SHADOWS OF DIVINE THINGS. By Jonathan Edwards. Edited by Perry Miller. Yale University Press. $2.75.

PERRY MILLER, more than any other American historian, has thought his way into the mind and soul of the Puritan culture of colonial New England. In this book he introduces the reader to the thought of Jonathan Edwards, which he describes as a "Puritan revolt against Puritanism." Edwards, who was certainly one of the really creative minds in the history of American culture, wrote "Images or Shadows of Divine Things," a series of notes, in order to correct the sterile, allegorical Scriptural interpretations of the Puritan divines.

The modern reader will probably find Edwards's "types" of the eternal in the events and configurations of time almost as irrelevant as the artificial "tropes" or metaphors by which the Puritan divines sought to edify their congregations. But Perry Miller's illuminating introduction to the thought of Edwards will help him to understand what was at stake in this rebellion. Miller shows how strongly Edwards had been influenced by the thought of Locke and Newton and how this interest in the facts of nature made it impossible for him to follow the sterile allegories of the older Calvinists. "The Lockean empiricism bound him to the earth," he writes. "He undertook therefore, with a courage that must be admired whatever we may think of the result, to solve his problem by finding in things an intelligibility not transcending them but immanent in them. . . . The proper reading of science (with all of its phenomenal content) and of history (with all of its fluctuations) would be metaphysical. Yet he had learned enough of the scientific method and empirical psychology to be certain in advance that no theology of nature could give rules to science. The thesis he labored to vindicate in these notes is that empirical science—the 'type'—embodies over and over again the ontological truth —the 'antitype.' "

Miller's analysis of the compound of "arch-Calvinism" and modern naturalism in the thought of Edwards is most rewarding. But Edwards's notes prove that poetic and religious metaphor is a dangerous enterprise, even for as great a mind as Edwards. Some of his metaphors have the simplicity and persuasiveness of the parables of Jesus. Others are almost as artificial as the "tropes" which he sought to displace. I doubt, for instance, whether the Scriptural truth that "heaven is an enemy to all proud persons" is proved or even illuminated by the fact "that lightning more commonly strikes high things, such as high towers, spires, and pinnacles" (Note 74). Or that the poisonous conversations of "wicked men" is clarified by the fact that "some of the most poisonous kinds of serpents have their tongues for their weapons" (Note 69). Or that the perils of hell are made real to the devout mind by observing "the torrents and floods of liquid fire that sometimes are vomited out of the lower parts of the earth—by the mouths of volcanoes" (Note 84). Modern preaching may be very insipid in comparison with Edwards's torrential eloquence, but it has the virtue of having relegated most of his "types" and analogies to "children's sermons"; and there is little evidence that the children are edified by them.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

The Graphic Arts

THE BOOK OF FINE PRINTS. By Carl Zigrosser. Crown Publishers. $5.

ELEVEN years ago Zigrosser's "Six Centuries of Fine Prints" offered a concise, readable, and scholarly introduction to the graphic arts of the East and West. The text, with its supplement of 488 illustrations, covered the field better than any single volume in English. The present book is a new edition of the earlier work, with over one hundred additional illustrations, a thorough revision of the chapter on the twentieth century, and an expanded section on Oriental art.

Mr. Zigrosser, who presides over the Print Department of the Philadelphia Museum of Art, is a widely recognized authority in his field. In addition, he can write.

S. L. F. JR.

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Verse Chronicle

ONE-WAY TICKET. By Langston Hughes (Knopf, $2.75). The virtues of Mr. Hughes's poetry are, mainly, those of forbearance. Given the single theme, he treats his data with great restraint: basic vocabulary, simple rhymes, short line; no violence, no hyperbole, no verbalizing. The rhetoric, such as there is, is that of understatement; this kind of rhetoric is easier to slide over than that of exaggeration, but it contains, no less, the contrived element, and in the long run Mr. Hughes's use of these devices induces in the reader an effect opposite, I feel sure, to that which he intends. The studied artlessness pretty soon puts the reader too off guard, makes him condescending, patronizing. "How simple the Negro is," he will be saying to himself if he doesn't watch out, and, in a few minutes, "How quaint!" I for one should like to see what Mr. Hughes could do if he would try his hand on work more elaborate, involved, complex, be less for a change the spokesman than the individual, exploit more fully than he has seemed to want to so far his own personal resources of education, travel, reading, music other than blues.

COLLECTED POEMS. By Siegfried Sassoon (Viking, $3.50). This collection having been awaited by the reader with something less than utter breathlessness, its publication gives me occasion to say what I have said before, and shall, if sufficiently provoked, repeat: I wish American publishers would cut out this business of bringing out the safe-and-sane, milk-and-water, old-hat British, and devote themselves a little more industriously to presenting younger Americans. I know that song-and-dance they always put up, "We lose money on poetry!" Gentlemen, my heart bleeds for you, or would, short of anemia, if I did not know the kind of *Droeckhmerde* you make money on. And furthermore, I am obdurate enough to believe you wouldn't lose *much* more money on three fifty-page books by American writers, priced at $2 or $2.50, than you will on these 269 pages, offered at $3.50.

Mr. Sassoon is adequately represented, and probably will be for another generation or so, by those well-known poems which appear in the anthologies, most of them taken from the book "Counter-Attack," whose history everybody knows. A gentle spirit, whose art was lifted by the intense emotion of his experience in the First World War into higher and more significant expression, Mr. Sassoon wrote, for a while, memorable poetry; they still hold up, those poems, Base Details, The General, Attack, Counter-Attack, Everyone Sang, and others; and, after this period, the fire was still warm enough for some nice, deft satirical verse, engaging, humorous. A really decent fellow Mr. Sassoon appears to be; no sneer at all is intended in the suggestion that, except for his intense and most vigorous years, his poetry corresponds pretty closely to that of our own Helen Hunt Jackson.

THE UNDERSEA FARMER. By Barbara Howes (Banyan Press, Pawlet, Vermount, $2). Issued in a limited edition of 250 copies, and beautifully made, this is the kind of book I want to see more of. In its twenty-three poems, forty pages, are unevennesses and awkwardnesses, including amateurish ones; there are also instances of observation, insight, a command of technique beyond competence, emotion under control. Miss Howes manages less well, I think, in the freer forms than when she is under the compulsion of some guidance in the pattern of stanza, line, and rhyme; she has a good ear for the effects of slant rhyme, assonance, rhyme delayed or suggested, and a somewhat better ear for effects of line-against-line than for those of word-against-word. Her talent manifests itself most particularly in two areas that might seem remote but are perhaps really complementary: she does quite well a sub-aqueous, soft-green kind of lyric, as in the title poem and Everywoman, and she can also strike off a sharp, incisive satirical comment—Lady-Poet, Views of the Oxford Colleges, Beacon Hill, The Critic, from which there is room, I hope, for a few lines:

His spiritual fathers he has cooked,
Basted, spitted, and sprigged with bay;
His cultural fathers he has eaten,
And now he's quite as great as they.
Great with father sitteth he
Happy, for they are no more:
Eliot, with thyme bedight,
Tossed like Leander to the shore...
He wears contentment like a wreath
And for a smile an orange rind;
There is no art but in his belch
Whose stomach's bigger than his mind.

Would anybody be interested if this department addressed itself, some fine spring day, to a general discussion of the present market for verse? If so, r.s.v.p. I have my own ideas, opinions, prejudices, and experiences, but I'd like to have more information than that to go on: if publishers, editors, and poets feel like taking the trouble to write in about such matters, it might come out less *ex cathedra* and more symposium.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

FREIGHTERS

If you don't quite run to the Queen Mary, get "Travel Routes." It packs a wealth of information for planning trips on passenger-carrying freighters to all parts of the world; tells ports they visit, length of voyage, prices; briefly describes accommodations, names the lines. For comfortable, lower-cost travel, wrap up 35¢ and mail for your copy.
HARIAN Publication, 78 Blvd., Greenlawn, Long Island, N.Y.

Books in Brief

THE FIRST HOLY ONE. By Maurice Collis. Knopf. $3.75. An illuminating study of the life and times of Confucius, of his teachings, and of their effect on Chinese history. Highly recommended, particularly to the readers of today, to whom it may be somewhat reassuring to learn of the periods of chaos and upheaval that the world has already survived.

NORTH AFRICAN PRELUDE. By Galbraith Welch. Morrow. $6. A brisk canter through seven thousand years of the history of North Africa—a region in which Egyptians, Greeks, Carthaginians, Romans, Vandals, Arabs, and Christians have jostled and fought, raided and crusaded through the centuries. An immense amount of information set forth in undisciplined prose.

ARTHUR QUILLER-COUCH. By F. Brittain. Macmillan. $3.50. A wholly admiring biography of a British don who floated buoyantly through the back waters of literature—always industrious, often competent, and never inspired. That "Q" is remembered less today for his thirty volumes of fiction than as editor of "The Oxford Book of Eng-

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lish Verse" is explicable in view of his creed: "To people a wide stage with characters at once good (as most are) and brave . . . that is the artist's test."

MELVILLE'S BILLY BUDD. Edited by F. Barron Freeman. Harvard. $5. A new text of Melville's last piece of writing, which was left in manuscript at his death and has hitherto been known only in the somewhat unreliable version transcribed by Raymond Weaver. Mr. Freeman has also printed separately the much shorter tale, "Baby Budd, Sailor," which can be disengaged by careful study from Melville's patched-up manuscript. There is an interesting introduction in which the literary and some of the psychological sources of "Billy Budd" are discussed.

LIBERAL'S PROGRESS. By Gerald Johnson. Coward-McCann. $3.50. A life of Edward A. Filene, the Boston merchant and philanthropist. Unlike most definitive biographies, this is no panegyric but a candid analysis of a dynamic egotist who was an innovator both in business and in his attempts to implement a social philosophy.

Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

IT WAS the auction rooms and the gift shops which first decided, some years ago, that the time had arrived when the Victorian could become picturesque. The movies followed with what Hollywood calls the cult of the "gay nineties," that term being used with a fine disregard for arithmetic to include any epoch between 1850 and 1935. The theater came last with what is known as "the period piece" and made of it an accepted genre. Some of the results, notably in the case of the revival of "Lady Windermere's Fan," were not bad. But it still takes more than bustles to make an entertaining evening, as we have sadly discovered on more than one occasion.

"Make Way for Lucia" (Cort Theater) is John Van Druten's new play put together from the work of that once popular Victorian novelist E. F. Benson. Benson no doubt thought that he was satirizing rather than exemplifying Victorian manners, but one trouble with the play is that the passage of time has left him imperfectly poised. From our standpoint the satire seems a bit lacking in edge, and yet he is not quite old-fashioned enough to be merely quaint. In many respects the present production is rather more elaborate than seems justified. For one thing it is not often that so many extravagantly Victorian costumes have been gathered on one stage. For another a rather large company, including an English star, Isabel Jeans, has been assembled. But the result is not impressive.

"Make Way for Lucia" is not quite good enough whether one tries to laugh with it or at it. Indeed, I feel impelled to go a bit farther and to say that for a reason not yet touched upon it struck me as being just slightly unpleasant. The scene is an English village given over to local art exhibits, garden parties for the benefit of the hospital, and the like. The story concerns the arrival of a spectacular female accompanied by her tame-cat bachelor, and the action details the various intrigues by means of which she unseats the reigning social leader. Now conceivably such a play might be written in bitterness and to some extent justify itself in that way, though the subject seems hardly worth the effort. With somewhat more difficulty one might imagine it as pure comedy blithely accepting human littleness. But "Make Way for Lucia" is not quite either of these things. Somehow it seems to treat with a little too much relish both its characters and its situations, to be written too much from a point of view which is neither that of satire nor that of comedy but quite simply that of the participants, as though either the original author or the dramatist thought all the gossip, all the backbiting, and all the mean little tricks just too utterly amusing for words and accepted the nominal heroine as a heroine indeed. It is one thing to exhibit the kind of people with whom the play deals and another to admire them. We seem to be invited to settle down to hear all the dirt and to scream shrilly our appreciation. When at the last curtain the triumphant schemer sits down at the piano with her effeminate fiancé to play their wedding march, I found that instead of delight I felt a slight uneasiness in the pit of my stomach.

Films

ANTHONY BOWER

Houston, Texas

THIS town is distinguished cinematically by having the cheapest movie seats in the country, by having separate movie houses for Negroes and enforcing complete segregation, and by the prevalence of drive-in theaters which remain open at all seasons of the year. There is nothing distinguished about the fare, however, and I saw most of the current offerings some time ago in New York. Few foreign films are shown —occasionally an English picture, seldom if ever a French—but there is a Mexican theater which recently attracted a good deal of general attention with a version of "Nana" that outdid Zola himself in candor.

The only picture here now which is currently to be seen on Broadway is "The Paleface," in which Bob Hope, assisted by Jane Russell, several hundred Indians, and quite a number of horses and covered wagons delivers a very funny, and let us hope a final, coup de grâce to the Western. Bob Hope's humorous technique is consistent to say the least, and here he has been given far better material than usual—Hollywood always being at its best when poking fun at itself. There are some wildly funny scenes: a gun duel between Hope and the local bad man and

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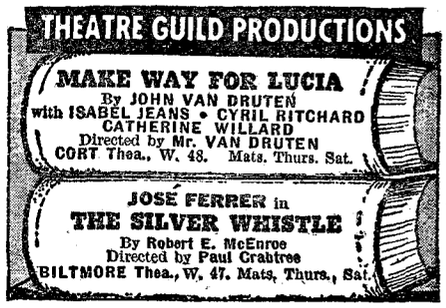
THEATRE GUILD PRODUCTIONS
MAKE WAY FOR LUCIA
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CATHERINE WILLARD
Directed by Mr. VAN DRUTEN
CORT Thea., W. 48. Mats. Thurs. Sat.
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THE SILVER WHISTLE
By Robert E. McEnroe
Directed by Paul Crabtree
BILTMORE Thea., W. 47. Mats. Thurs., Sat.

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a naughty-nineties bar-room encounter with the town siren that should rid the screen of this sort of thing forever. Jane Russell continues to display all her talents in her customary manner, and it is practically impossible to make up one's mind whether she is perpetrating one of the biggest hoaxes in the history of the industry or just doesn't know any better. It seems outside the bounds of possibility that anyone should be so incapable, even with expert direction, of registering any emotion whatsoever; that, however, is her achievement and apparently she is proud of it. The only other drawback to the film is a certain ghoulishness in some of the humor. Even W. C. Fields failed to prove that the dentist's chair was intrinsically funny, and Bob Hope does not succeed any better; nor does mass mayhem provide the most heart-warming kind of chuckle. But despite this Hope succeeds very adequately in exerting his own particular brand of charm, and Miss Russell hers, the technicolor is pleasant, the pace fast, and the film extremely good entertainment.

ANTHONY BOWER

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

THE recordings on the standard shellac records that Columbia has been issuing for several years, and on the other hand the recordings of the same performances that Columbia has now begun to issue on its new LP (long-playing) records, were and are "dubbed" from the same original ("safety") recordings. And it was an amazing experience recently to hear the thin, hard, and unpleasantly falsified sound produced by the old shellac records of Stravinsky's performance of his "Sacre du printemps," and then the massive and agreeably normal—though cold—sound produced by the new LP record (ML-4092). Or the dull, hazy, smudged sound from the old shellac records of Beecham's performance of Sibelius's Seventh, and then the bright, clear sound from the new LP record (ML-4086). Apparently the original ("safety") recordings were good, and what produced those shellac horrors was poor dubbing. And apparently the dubbing for shellac records is still, in some cases, not as good as for LP: the Budapest Quartet performance of Beethoven's Opus 18 No. 16 hasn't on LP (ML-4073, with Beethoven's Opus 95) the excessive sharpness of the violins that it had on the recently issued shellac records, also it has more body in the cello and a better over-all sound.

What I have been talking about is the sound from those LP records when I played them with the new Astatic FL-33 pickup. The sound when I played them with Columbia's own attachment had less body down below, because of the pickup's insufficient bass-response, and a little less clear and clean definition throughout. The FL-33 (list price $14.90) must be used with the FL filter ($6.90); to replace the worn stylus one has to replace the entire LP-33 cartridge ($8.90); but since the records are vinylite and the stylus-pressure only 5 grams the stylus should last a long time; and since the cartridge is inserted as easily as the eraser of a pencil the replacement doesn't require a radio service-man. To use the FL-33 one must, of course, have a 33 1/3 r.p.m. motor; and on that I have no information as yet (I am using a pre-war Garrard two-speed motor).

For use with the FL-33 for standard shellac records there is an alternative LP-78 cartridge, which I will report on later, when I will also report on the new Astatic magneto-induction pickup and possibly on others.

Columbia has issued Liszt's pretentious and bombastic Piano Sonata in B minor on shellac (MM-786, $4.75) and LP (ML-4084, with some smaller Liszt pieces). Sandor disposes of its difficulties with ease; the piano sound is glassy on top but otherwise good on shellac, less good (insufficient bass) on LP with the Columbia attachment, best of all (more solid bass) on LP with the FL-33.

Also Bartok's Concerto for orchestra performed by Reiner and the Pittsburgh Symphony (MM-793, $8.50; ML-4102). I get nothing from the first movement, and the third merely goes through the gestures of an elegy, for me; but the other fast and light movements I find quite engaging. The performance is good; and so is the recorded sound—with less brilliance on LP than on shellac.

And Beethoven's First Symphony performed by Walter and the New York Philharmonic (MM-796, $6; ML-2027). The performance is relaxed to the point of occasional slackness; the recorded sound is markedly less brilliant—and shrill—on LP than on shellac, and has a boomy bass on shellac and on LP with the FL-33, but not on LP with the Columbia attachment.

I might add here that the LP records, since they are vinylite, are very quiet; and that sometimes—since the grooves are narrow and the walls thin—in a moment of silence one gets the sound from the next groove in advance. Also the prices: $4.85 for the 12-inch 4000 series, $3.85 for the 10-inch 2000 series.

The New York City Ballet Company is back at the City Center for two weeks, with most of the Balanchine ballets that it offered last fall, and three additional works by Tudor, Robbins, and Merce Cunningham. Let me repeat that the Balanchine ballets are something one should not fail to see, and to see more than once—a work like "The Four Temperaments" being one which an unaccustomed eye may not be able to see the first time.

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Letters to the Editors

Public Opinion Polls Are Un-American

Dear Sirs: Those who have vested interests—emotional, ideological, or financial—in the polls are, naturally, still howling Great Is Diana. Those who assert that favorable predictions lose votes for a candidate disclose their political illiteracy; the band-wagon vote in any election is at least 20 per cent. Ten millions of Dewey's votes were band-wagon climbers.

Thousands of educational samplings of a few hundred children in some unusual school do not prove that their conclusions are correct for all schools. Pollsters warp their questions and answers; in addition, these soothsayers lack a sense of humor, like Kinsey's researchers solemnly swallowing the bragging of undergraduates. Does it never occur to pollsters that the average American loves to give tall tales to the tenderfoot?

Polls are essentially un-American in that difference is what makes America. We are not all alike, and our opinions are not to be deduced from those of others. The pollsters are reviving the old Tory argument of Revolutionary days—"virtual representation." We fought a war to suggest that we want to choose our own representatives, and we still do.

It might pay experts to learn to eat blackeyed peas and corn bread. Gallup should loaf in more barber shops, Kinsey in more poolrooms, and Stuart Chase in protracted meetings.

CHARLES G. HAMILTON, Chairman,
Young Democrats of Mississippi
Aberdeen, Miss., December 20

Are Gieseking's Critics Biased and Prejudiced?

Dear Sirs: Though we seem to be some distance apart in our thinking on Gieseking, I appreciate the fact that you have tried to remain objective in your review of this great artist's activities during the war years.

Lack of objectivity is the only real fault I have to find with Delbert Clark's reporting on Gieseking, but I think it is unfortunate that a man in his position should have given in so much to bias. Writing for such a paper as the New York *Times,* which prides itself on truth in reporting, uninfluenced by race, creed, or political faiths, it seems to me he should have bent over backward to give an objective view. I felt at the time of Mr. Clark's original article in the *Times* that he made an unfair and prejudiced use of the materials at his disposal, and I believe from his subsequent writings in the *Times* and in your magazine that he is so deeply engrossed in defending a position he has taken that he has lost all sense of balance in evaluating the evidence.

I am perfectly satisfied to rest on the record; in fact, I want every piece of information about Gieseking brought out so that the public may make up its own mind, but I must cite a couple of instances which clearly demonstrate Mr. Clark's prejudice and point out to you that he does not seem unwilling to hit below the belt in this matter. I have no desire to quarrel with Mr. Clark, for I have enjoyed much of his writing from Berlin, but as a newspaperman he surely knows how easy it is to damage a public name, and I find it unbecoming that he let his prejudices so affect his evaluations.

First, Mr. Clark refers to "one Kurz" who wrote in the *Times* in defense of Gieseking. Kurz is described as a "friend and associate" of Gieseking. The inference is that Kurz (a German name) was associated in some way in business with Gieseking. Mr. Clark knew all the time that this Kurz was Meyer Kurz, Gieseking's American attorney all through the Hitler days in the thirties, whose Jewish first name Clark seems to find it very convenient to omit.

Second, Clark speaks of Gieseking's having played "very badly." He mentions this twice, once in his *Times* article and again in his letter to you. Even an amateur psychologist can detect in this remark, which has no bearing whatsoever on his evidence, the venomous desire of a reporter suddenly self-appointed to the role of music critic to help poison the mind of his reader. Your readers might like to know what *Musical America's* trained critic thought of the same performance: "A sovereign master of the keyboard! There was so little pose and so little of the self-conscious in his playing that the expert only could recognize the full extent of his musicianship."

Similarly, Clark introduces the bestial Nazi atrocities glibly as if to infer that Gieseking had some part in or sanctioned them. Clark gives the impression that Gieseking played repeatedly for Hitler and Nazi big shots. Nothing could be farther from the truth. He studiously avoided all such contacts with Nazi officialdom, and in this he was aided by his European manager, Dr. Goette. The *only* time Hitler was ever in his audience was at a big charity concert in Berlin in 1937. Gieseking never played for Mussolini.

I challenge these things because Clark has printed them as gospel and they are erroneous in fact or written in such a way as to give a damning impression of Gieseking. You and your staff have stated your feelings; so in the foregoing paragraphs I have stated a few of my thoughts on this lengthening and complicated issue. My complaint is not so much against *The Nation* as it is against Delbert Clark, who holds a position on a most reputable paper but who in this case wrote from his bias rather than from his facts.

My outlook is constructive, not destructive. I want to build careers, not damage them, and see that fine music is made, not put restrictions in the way. I have a hunch most of your readers share in this outlook.

EDWARD W. SNOWDON
New York, January 3

Profit and Loss for Eleanor Dushane

Dear Sirs: On December 30, 1948, Eleanor Dushane, the Buffalo school teacher who has for almost two years been fighting for basic principles of academic freedom and the rule of law against a vindictive school board, won what may well be the final victory. The Appellate Division upheld by a unanimous decision the original Supreme Court judgment, which held that the school board's action in forcing her to take either a sick leave or a physical examination was illegal and directed that she be paid her full back pay for the time she was on enforced "sick leave."

In times like the present a decision of this sort upholding individual liberties

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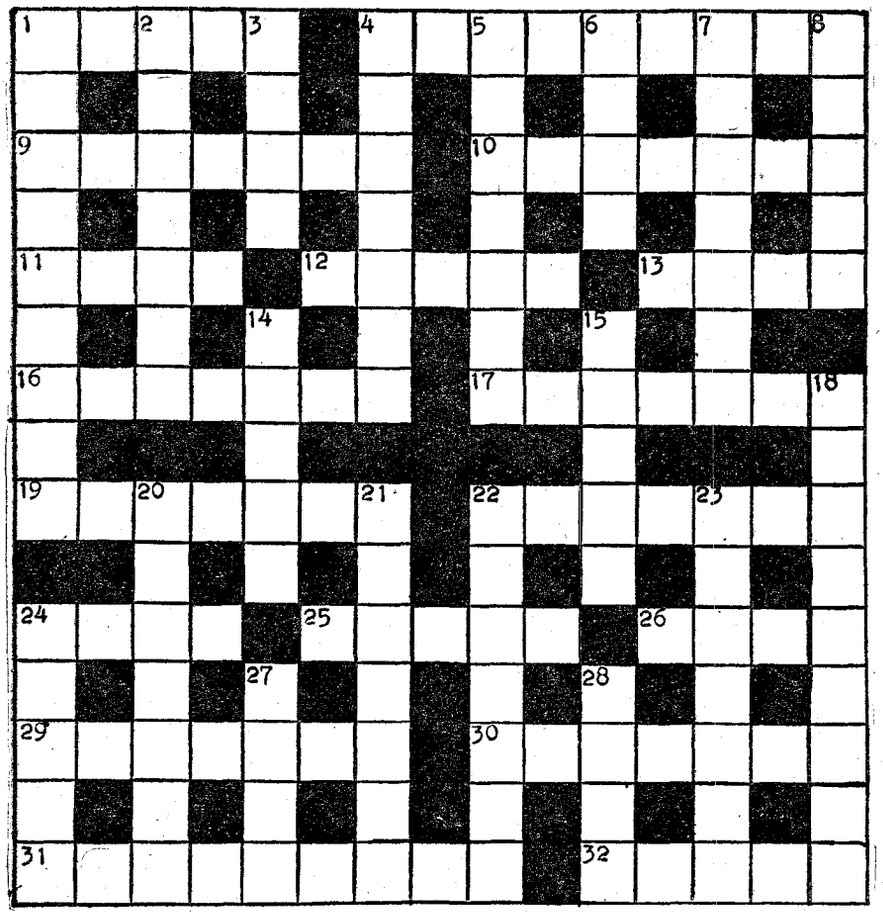
Crossword Puzzle No. 296

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 4 down: Found either as a ram or the last of the Hapsburgs. (5, 7)
4 A sort of liar, so not much like a barber. (9)
9 Not as solid as the clusters on 5-star generals! (7)
10 Primate, or primates; (a large and overbearing person might well be upset!). (7)
11 Bring up, but not in the van. (4)
12 His books shouldn't be dry! (5)
13 Deep sea fish? (4)
16 A sort of 30. (7)
17 The proper topic for a King's man? (7)
19 Rings with a bird-like sound. (7)
22 Ornamentation for tile. (7)
24 Look for such character in 15's work. (4)
25 Ought to be changed, to make the clue hard. (5)
26 One or two for the dance. (4)
29 Flesh and blood vessel? (7)
30 Leaves, to eventually meet its match. (7)
31 See 18 down.
32 This makes a valley of the law. (5)

DOWN

1 Human practices (in a slightly different class than 10)? (9)
2 Kenilworth's heroine steals with great skill. (7)
3 A sort of cut-up cabbage. (4)
4 See 1 across.
5 The place in Arizona where there are no high winds? (7)
6 Without it, orbits still make circles.
7 But it makes one so tardy! (7)
8 Stays on ones uppers, perhaps. (5)
14 He usually has a couple of runners to assist him. (5)
15 Ben is quite a playright. (5)
18 and 31. The Book of Numbers is referred to quite often. (9, 9)
20 One of Millet's subjects. (7)
21 Balance on one hand before the Archer enters. (7)
22 When things are drawn in this manner, they're fast. (7)
23 It comes out of a form of coalpit. (7)
24 Dawdled. (5)
27 Sale, rather common in the thirties, must have been smart. (4)
28 Strangely enough, *beta* might make up the end of the alphabet. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 295

ACROSS:—1 and 4 FAINT HEART; 7 OCARINA; 10 TRIAL; 11 REMUS; 12 DESCENT; 13 LADY; 18 CYRIL; 20 RHESUS; 21 AUDITS; 22 BEDLAM; 24 GALENA; 25 TYLER; 26 FAIR; 28 TAEL; 31 CAPSIZE; 33 COCOA; 34 RUMEN; 35 READING; 36 SYNOD; 37 and 16 ORDER ARMS.

DOWN:—1 FATAL; 2 ILIAD; 3 TOLD; 4 HART; 5 ARMOR; 6 TESTS; 8 ASSAYS; 9 IBERIA; 14 AEROBIA; 15 YIELDER; 16 ALIMENT; 17 MISTAKE; 18 CUGAT; 19 LUNAR; 23 MYOPIA; 24 GEMINI; 26 FACES; 27 INCAN; 29 AIMED; 30 LINER; 31 CARD; 32 ERGO.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

against encroachments by narrow and petty persons clothed temporarily with governmental authority is very important. There is, however, a price to be paid even for victory. The individual involved pays in notoriety, emotional strain, and, ironically enough, a certain stigma; for this he can never be reimbursed.

There are other and more immediate costs—lawyers' fees, court costs, publicity outlays—incurred by the victim and persons associated with her. These can and should be repaid in full. David Diamond, Miss Dushane's lawyer, has received thus far only a pittance for his brilliant legal work on her behalf. She has had out-of-pocket expenditures which no one in her position can afford. The committee of which I am chairman, despite generous contributions by many people, still has a deficit. In these increasingly complex times the price of freedom is part of the inflationary spiral.

It seems to me that the least we can do is to pay these "direct" costs. We can never turn back the clock to give Eleanor Dushane the life and peace which she had before all this took place. We can at least see that she and those closely associated with her in this fight do not suffer direct financial loss.

I therefore wish to appeal for help, I hope for the last time, to you and your readers. We must and we can, with your help, pay back what we owe to this teacher who stood up for us. Contributions may be sent to me at 71 Woodlawn Avenue, Buffalo.

BARTON BEAN, Chairman,
Buffalo Committee to Defend
American Education

Buffalo, N. Y., January 3

Not an Uncommon Salute

Dear Sirs: To prevent the false assumption from your leading note in "In the Wind" for December 25 that saluting Israel is unusual for Unitarians, we should like to emphasize that joint Unitarian-Jewish celebrations are very common.

The Flatbush Unitarian Church was the first in the nation to salute the new government of Israel, and Hanukkah is regularly—and publicly—celebrated there. The Unitarian church in Indianapolis held a joint Christmas-Hanukkah celebration on December 26. The Unitarian church of Northampton, Massachusetts, announced a special Hanukkah sermon for December 26 in its weekly news letter. Scores of Unitarian churches

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from coast to coast recently displayed greetings printed in Hebrew on their wayside pulpits on the grounds; these messages are prepared at Unitarian headquarters.

Lately, moreover, a Seder service was jointly celebrated by the Unitarian church in Berkeley, California, and the local Hillel Foundation. The minister of the Unitarian church in Worcester, Massachusetts, on December 10, preached the evening sermon in Temple Emanuel. The Unitarian minister in Portland, Maine, helped instal Rabbi Ephraim Bennet of Temple Beth El a few weeks ago. Hardly an issue of the *Christian Register*, official monthly magazine of the American Unitarian Association, appears without one or more news articles telling of similar Unitarian-Jewish cooperation.

Let's not make religious tolerance and understanding sound like something rare in America!

EDWARD DARLING, News Editor,
American Unitarian Association
Boston, December 31

Wanted: Missionaries

Dear Sirs: Quite frankly, I am biased against your country. From what I have seen of Americans, and from what I see in the films and in the many journals from America which I have to read in the course of my work, I have not much liking for the "American way of life." I dislike advertising, superlatives, commercialization of everything. . . . Please do not think I am insular: I know there is much to criticize in England, but I do think we have not commercialized quite as many spheres of life as you have. In order to overcome my distaste for things American, I have taken to reading American books only. Now I should like to correspond with Americans. My present address is P. O. B. 122, Zürich 1.

MRS. I. COFFEE
Zürich, Switzerland, December 26

Inexpensive Architecture

Dear Sirs: In his review of Nikolaus Pevsner's "An Outline of European Architecture" (Scribner's, $5) Albert Guérard mentions that a hundred thousand copies of the book were sold in war-torn and impoverished England. Lest your readers assume that the British public spent $500,000 on the study of architecture, it should be pointed out that the English edition of the book, with line drawings, plates, and all, was published at just twenty cents.

EYVIND TEW
London, December 18

Teachers and Soviet Science

Dear Sirs: What shall teachers in American schools say with regard to the Soviet attacks upon freedom of thought as exemplified in the recent onslaughts upon geneticists and economists and artists who do not hew to the line laid down by the political authorities? Would it be a breach of international goodwill and an act of warmongering to express our horror at such a manifestation of anti-intellectualism and sectarian obscurantism?

It would be the height of folly and the depth of inexcusable apathy for us teachers to remain silent. If we really believe in the international nature of science and the one-world essence of truth, we must speak out against these outrages wherever they appear. If we are to do our duty by our students in helping them to understand the absolute necessity for freedom of thought, we must not close our classrooms to discussion of these latest eruptions of the spirit of evil and corruption.

Any teacher organization, any teacher forum, any teacher paper or magazine that keeps silent about Soviet twists and distortions in matters scientific forfeits the right to be critical of similar acts in our own country.

MARTIN WOLFSON
Brooklyn, N. Y., December 25

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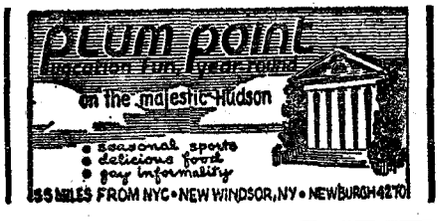
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